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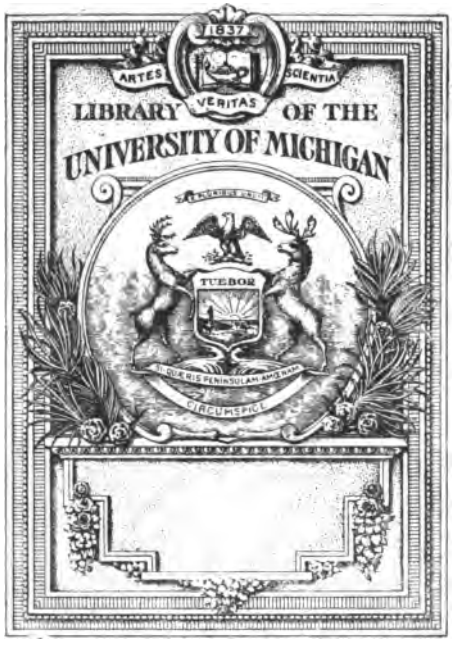

THE GIFT OF
Dr. C. C. Warden

II
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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

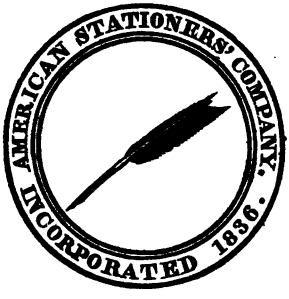
OF

JOHN VON MÜLLER.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE BOSTON SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.



BOSTON:
AMERICAN STATIONERS COMPANY.
J. B. RUSSELL.
1837.

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UNIVERSAL HISTORY

BOOK IX.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.*

Whence came that intellectual spirit that dwells in man, and whither does it depart; that spirit which measures the distances of the heavenly spheres; which resolves the apparently simple elements of nature; which embraces the knowledge of all past time; governs the opinions and destinies of nations; and exercises a powerful influence on remote futurity! Man has stolen the lightning from the heavens; he has gained a dominion over the sea; he has measured the paths of comets, and traversed the lofty regions of the air; and yet who is he? Whence is his origin, and what is the end of his being? To these inquiries our senses make no reply. Abstract and metaphysical arguments, without end, have been devised, repeated, and compared; some more complete, others less perfect, and yet no result appears to be more certain than that all is yet involved in doubt.

What has befallen those illustrious men, whose genius, in the brightest days of literature, soared on so sublime a track, that the wise and good of every age have followed their flight with delight and rapturous sympathy? Have they, whose soul yet breathes in their immortal works, become long ago the spoil of corruption? Has no other destiny

* The author has in this section briefly glanced at the heathen arguments for the immortality of the soul. T.

awaited the virtuous Cato, the benevolent Titus, and the excellent Antonine, than that which was allotted to the abominable Nero and the bloody Maximin? Have the four hundred Lacedæmonians of Leonidas, have Brutus and Cassius, and all who have yielded their lives and despised death for the general good, sunk into the gulf of eternal night? Where is the key that shall unlock the mysteries of this wonderful enigma?

Great and good men have passed before us on the theatre of the world; yet we can imagine virtue far more pure and perfect than they have displayed; the most learned of men despise their knowledge, so far do they find it to be below the ideal standard; there is a feeling implanted in us of the vast and infinite, which the human faculties cannot satisfy; and powers of self-control are possible, before which the most rebellious passions must yield; yet at the end of the career of truth and virtue, shall we believe that the last scene will be a final relinquishment of these great thoughts, an eternal seclusion in the silent grave?

The popular belief of the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Gauls, the Germans, the doctrine of the Egyptian priests, of Zoroaster and Confucius, hold out better prospects; but the godlike Plato only wished for the confirmation of these visions; Cicero doubted, and Pliny was inclined to reject them. They hold out a hope which elevates us above the whole visible universe; throws under our feet all that we behold; and opens an immeasurable prospect of advancement towards infinite perfection: but doubts, which we cannot dispel, lurk within the sanctuary of our reason. May the historian be enabled to discover something to dissipate them!

SECTION II.

RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS OF THE EAST.

At what time and place, and by the operation of what causes, man came into existence, was not at the first period of that existence a mere abstract speculation; his very being necessarily involves certain definite conditions; when

he rose out of non-entity he must have brought with him those faculties by means of which himself and his race have continued to subsist. Shall we conclude that the first cause which called the human soul into being, endowed it with a store of ideas as a foundation for its exercise and future improvement? It may be allowed that this primitive tradition, obscured and deformed by antiquity, long remained a mere popular opinion; but when philosophers had caught the spark, and kindled with it a light which enlightened the world, then the original sentiment maintained its prerogative, and mankind, in harmony with themselves, recognized the innate principle of their nature revived and invigorated. Nations, which have been left wholly to themselves, have remained for ever wrapt in the cradle of childhood, and it is only the communication of traditionary knowledge that excites them to improvement. By this channel we have become possessed of truths which cannot be measured by our reason. Let us endeavor to pursue the track which thus opens itself to our view.

Shall we begin with the mythology of the Shu-king,* with its doctrine of nature, its sacred Three, with the celestial wisdom of Yao† and Sha-un, with the great deeds of the Hia,‡ the Shang, and the Tsheu; with China, whose legends reach up to the first ages of the earth, then drying

* The Shu-king is the second of the sacred books of the Chinese, which are collectively termed the U-king; and it is the most important, since the first book, called the Y-king, contains nothing but a series of symbolical characters, which are for the most part unintelligible. The Shu-king consists of fragments of the ancient history and mythology of China. It is comprised in six parts. The two first contain the memorable events of the earliest period of Chinese history, and particularly the wise discourses and institutions of Yao, Sha-un, and his successor, the great Yu, the founder of the first dynasty of Chinese emperors. These three monarchs are regarded as the great lawgivers of the nation. The third part of the Shu-king contains the history of China under the second dynasty; and the remainder is occupied with the annals, if such they can be called, of the third dynasty. T.

† Yao was the first great legislator of China. He reigned a hundred years, and his successor, Sha-un, nearly as long. From Yao, the Chinese pretend to have records regulated by their historical cycle of sixty years. T.

‡ The Hia, the Shang, and the Tsheu, were the three first dynasties of Chinese emperors.

from the waters of the ocean ;* whose historical book is three centuries older than Herodotus, and which at this day presents a picture of that primitive antiquity, the venerable customs of which China has never sacrificed to foreign manners? Shall we show how Tshang-ti† distributed power and happiness, according to the virtue and wisdom of men; how the great Yu, how Tshing-tang and Va-vang,‡ since the dissolution of their corporeal forms, ever look up from that medium towards which the energies of their souls were directed, adoring the council of the Most High, and supplicating for their China, endeavor, without ceasing, to conciliate in her behalf the favor of Heaven? The manner and doctrine of the Shu-king are indeed remarkable: its author has sought to reach the hearts of men by ways which the sages of other regions have scarcely attempted.

But the Shu-king, and the Veda, and the Zendavesta,

---

* The first emperors of China are said, in the traditions of that country, to have exercised their skill in draining the land, and drawing off the waters of the sea which had before covered the plains of this vast empire. In this relation, and in the story of the rainbow, which encircled the mother of Fohi, and in his distribution of animals into clean and unclean, some persons have supposed that they have traced the scriptural history of the deluge. T.

† Tshang-ti is the supreme object of adoration among the Chinese who profess the ancient religion of the empire. Some writers, who have supposed the religion of the Chinese to be a kind of sabaism, or worship of material nature, have represented the Tshang-ti as denoting the visible heaven, to which they suppose supplications to have been addressed. Whether the ancient Chinese had any distinct idea of an invisible and spiritual creator, it might be difficult to decide. The Shu-king, at least, always speaks of Tshang-ti as an intelligent being, and as a moral governor of the universe. T.

‡ These are the three great saints, or mediators, of the Chinese, who have obtained a sort of half-deification, and are represented as ever kneeling before the throne of Tshang-ti, and deprecating the evils which menace their posterity. They obtained their exalted rank by the sanctity and wisdom of their lives, and by the services they rendered China. Yu has been mentioned above. He was the founder of the first dynasty. Tshing-tang, the founder of the second, is said to have devoted himself as a sacrifice, to atone for the sins of his people. The representation of this performance is remarkable. At a time when China had suffered greatly from long continued droughts, Tshing-tang ascended his chariot, drawn by milk-white horses, and went in procession with all his court, to the top of a high mountain, where, putting on the skin of a lamb, with his feet and head bare, he was slain as an expiatory offering. Va-vang was a great philosopher and legislator, and the founder of the third dynasty. T.

venerable as the traditions are which they contain, and which we have not yet sufficiently explored or applied to our own advantage, are still only particular objects in the history of the Chinese, Indian, and Persian nations, to which, in their genius and precepts, they stand in so close a relation, that they seem for that very reason incapable of furnishing religious doctrines for the people of remote countries. The allegories and moral dogmas, revered on the Hoangho, the Ganges, and the Kura, are suited to those tranquil spirits, who still think and feel as did their forefathers in the days of Alexander. Secluded within the enchanted regions which gave them birth, they exhaust all the powers of their souls in the enjoyment of devout contemplation.

Insulated as China is by the vast wilderness of Gobi on one side, and on the other by scarcely accessible shores; cut off from all participation in our learning, and a happy security from our arms, so she has hitherto been secluded from the representations which Europe possesses of our common nature. A true light is now, for the first time, about to be diffused from Calcutta, over the strange metamorphoses, warfares, and figures of the Indian mythology. The code which contains the religion of Persia, was so closely connected with a definite form, and even with a political system, that after the subversion of the latter, it was not found sufficiently applicable to the government of the country which had produced it, to maintain its influen over the barbarous conquerors of the East.

SECTION III.

DECLINE OF THE RELIGION OF GREECE AND ROME.

Men of great learning have proved that the mythology of Homer and Hesiod consists of a mixture of physical truths and historical traditions; it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other in particular instances. A sublime sense shines through all the decorations, all the superstitions, and the priestcraft of this mythology; but human nature displays itself at the same time in those prejudices which represent

God as partaking of the infirmities of man; and the whole religion of the Greeks and Romans, though embellished by the most celebrated poets, and applied in the most advantageous manner by statesmen, was only capable of holding its place during the infancy of the world, and under the governments which then existed. The primitive traditions are here found more distorted than in the sacred books of the Orientals and the unwritten sagas of the North, because they furnished occupation for greater powers of invention and for more active minds.

The ancients always distinguish the father of gods and men, at whose nod Olympus shook and all the lords of heaven trembled on their thrones, from that unknown power which imposes an universal law on Jupiter himself, and from the number of subordinate beings who seek partly to fulfil the counsel of the sovereign, partly to resist or to influence his will.* The latter idea is suited to the infancy of the human mind; for since no finite being has faculties sufficiently comprehensive to conceive in every case how the principle of the universal system acts in all its parts, and how the whole can be governed by a single thought, men imagined it impossible for God to rule his empire without ministers and inferior agents, just as in a great monarchy the mind of the prince is incapable of extending to particular affairs. In-

* Jupiter and Fate are invoked as separate and independent beings by Epictetus. "Ἄγου δή με ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σὺ Η Πεπρωμένη ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμὶ διατεταγμένος." "Lead me, Oh Jupiter, and Thou, Fate, whithersoever I am destined by you to go."

Æschylus represents the power of Fate, or Necessity, as superior to the might of Jove:—

> Who then is ruler of Necessity?
> The triple Fates and unforgetting Furies.
> Must Jove then yield to their superior power?
> In no way shall he 'scape his destin'd fate.
>
> POTTER'S *Æschylus.*

In other places we find Fate described as the result of laws dictated by the arbitrary will of Jupiter; as in the celebrated hymn of Cleanthes.

The crowd of inferior gods are continually represented as ministers of the supreme Jupiter, and as scarcely less dependent on him than mortal men. See the 4th chapter of Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual System, where that learned writer has collected a large number of passages from the ancient authors, with the design of proving that the religion of Greece and Rome was fundamentally monotheistic. T.

stead of reflecting that all forms and modes of being are mere words, and that only One essentially exists; and that although the universe consists of an innumerable multitude of parts, it is yet in relation to infinite power more minute than the least of its component particles is in comparison with the whole, they absurdly refused to admit the universal providence of God. But in the sight of God nothing is great; nothing little; nothing difficult: with one act of his will, at a time known to himself, he called forth from his mind that idea which we call the world, or the system of Nature.

The opinion that a number of vassals of the court of Olympus were necessary, that every one might serve in his proper capacity (for thus the fictions of allegory were misinterpreted), diffused an irksome uncertainty over the life of the devotee. Full of dread of the irresistible unseen power, and at the same time destitute of confidence, the wretched mortal turned himself to every side, and sought, by every new and absurd invention, to excite in favor of his prayers the attention of the gods.

During the prevalence of these childish errors the most exalted patriotism displayed itself, together with a degree of refinement which has never been surpassed, and very seldom equalled, in later times; great mental powers are not so much formed by maxims of reason as developed by contemplation and by sympathetic feelings, which in those ages had on many accounts a greater influence over mankind. The strength of character decreased as the minds of men became more enlightened.

The Delphic god, who had replied to Themistocles and Lycurgus in bad verses, but according to the standard of their own knowledge, uttered in the time of Alexander his responses in plain prose, and towards the decline of Grecian liberty became wholly silent. In fact, he was seldom interrogated; for what means of information did he possess when affairs ceased to be directed by public magistrates and popular conventions? How could Apollo pry into the secrets of cabinets? Silence was imposed upon him by necessity.

The old religion now became more and more the object

of philosophic doubt and of profane jesting; and it was soon found incapable of exciting, even among the ignorant, either confidence or terror with its former power and dignity. In fact, by the alteration of languages, of times and manners, the ancient symbols had become obscured, and the forms and functions of religion changed. The philosophers had not derived sufficient instruction from antiquity and from the East, to comprehend the spirit of the mythology. Ignorance is ever disdainful; the keen-sighted Academics, the intelligent Stoics, the witty and profane disciples of Epicurus, beheld only folly in the popular superstition, and discovered nothing but fabulous tales in the theogony of Hesiod. A growth of intellect, unknown in China and India, brought the religion of Greece into perils which Confucius had no reason to dread.

It happened, moreover, that while the maxims of religion had inculcated a republican simplicity, and even a virtuous purity of manners, those who had survived the liberty of their country, and knew nothing better under the reign of the Cæsars than the enjoyment of their uncertain treasures, according to the spirit of the age, disdained every species of control. Thus the influence of worldly passions co-operated in this respect with that of philosophy.

The inquiries of natural philosophers contributed to the same effect. Scanty as their knowledge was, they speedily concluded, from the real or fancied discovery of the causes of some phenomena which had been deemed supernatural, that all effects depend on the agency of accidentally concurring circumstances. They did not proceed further and ascend along the chain of a thousand causes to that first link which is fastened to the throne of Jupiter; a few syllogisms afforded a triumph to wit and levity over correct sentiments, and even over sound reason. They proudly maintained that every thing has known or unknown causes, but that the universal system of causes has no efficient or antecedent; they rather delighted in the darkness which is spread over the origin of man and of the world, than in the discovery of new views, which hold forth motives to virtue. Thus Cicero gave as the result of philosophy, that, excepting the future hopes of man and the existence of that

Almighty power which governs him, every thing is uncertain; and that even these subjects themselves are scarcely removed from doubt.

Under the emperors, all the gods vanished before that power whose shrine was in the palace of the Cæsars. Every thing now yielded to private interest; crime prospered, and was even adorned with the imperial purple; Tiberius and Claudius were seen among the gods: the gods themselves were inexorable to the prayers of their eternal Rome; Augustus had seated himself on an immovable throne; Brutus had been abandoned, and Pætus Thrasea had fallen a sacrifice to Nero. All these things filled the minds of virtuous men with involuntary indignation, and with very excusable doubts. Men of comprehensive minds generalized religions; with Pliny, the universe is God; every thing from eternity is God, and all things are pervaded by him; it is vain to inquire into his nature; he fills all things, our senses, our souls, our spirits.

In vain the Stoical senators and philosophers contended for the gods of ancient Rome, and for the majesty of religion, against the corruption of the times; in vain they sought to erect the new edifice of manners on philosophic maxims, as if to build a palace upon a foundation of mosaic work; their wise maxims yielded one after another to the violence of the passions. So much energy was requisite in order to govern the practice of life by mere abstract principles, that their adherents at length consisted only of a few sedate persons, who gradually lost themselves in other sects.

The Epicureans, holding the belief that the follies of men are indifferent to the gods, adopted the principle of passing as agreeably as possible through the short career of life, without giving themselves any fruitless trouble for promoting the honor of beings who take no concern in human affairs. In order to render their enjoyments more various and delightful, they cultivated the perception of the beautiful in every kind, and formed their minds to every mode of pleasure. In the pursuit of refined and benevolent pleasures, they sought to observe that temperance which serves to prolong every enjoyment. These sentiments were adopted

by all who were more inclined to reconcile themselves to the times in which they lived than to strive against them.

Thus, to the Stoics, all human things were indifferent, while they feared nothing and desired nothing passionately; and the Epicureans, while they despised them, contemplated the cares of life with pity, and participated in them as little as possible. Among the former, there were more hypocrites; among the latter, too many who forgot the pleasures which are worthy of men of refined sentiments in the impulses which are common to us with the brutes. The strength of the human character suffered on both sides, and the common good was pursued by neither party with sufficient zeal, while the sublime doctrine was adapted only to a few vigorous minds, and the Epicurean was often more enervated by indulgence than the principles of his philosophy permitted.

The people, alienated from their ancient gods, too much according to nature for the lofty virtues of the Stoics, and not sufficiently refined for Epicurus, were destitute of consolation, and looked around for a foreign creed. The Egyptians brought their Serapis, and the priests of Isis spread themselves through the whole empire. The gigantic fictions, the prodigies of their ancient mysteries and of their country, the strange absurdities of their mythology, excited the wonder of the Roman populace, both rich and poor. Their fictions were believed; and it was agreed that nobody should attempt to comprehend them. In the most irreligious cities, credulity is at its highest pitch. It has been remarked, that the depraved Romans were the most zealous cultivators of the mysterious arts: they felt the void which pleasures pursued to disgust leave in the human soul, and they longed for the delights of another world.

In this state of the human mind, when the world was destitute of gods, it came to pass that a few obscure, uneducated, undignified individuals, from the most despised people in the whole Roman empire, laid the foundations of a religion before which all the former opinions and prejudices of men, and the laws of all nations, were doomed to yield. We must trace the causes and progress of this event from the most remote antiquity.

SECTION IV.

MOSES.

The land of Canaan, or Palestine, is situated between the 31st and 34th degrees of north latitude; it extends from the Phœnician coast to the great Arabian desert, and from Lebanon to the Black mountains which occupy the rocky Arabia, and of which Sinai is the centre; hence a chain of hills is continued northwards to join the arms of Lebanon. The river Jordan flows through the country, and after forming the beautiful lake of Genesareth, loses itself in the dreary expanse of the Dead sea, which seems to occupy the crater of an old volcano, or the cavity of deep fountains of bitumen. Canaan is sufficiently fertile to support an uncommonly numerous population; and Polybius thought Galilee adequate to the sustenance of considerable armies. Magnificent cities ornamented the coasts; gardens of balsam and palm-groves decorated the plains of Jericho; exuberant harvests crowned the extensive champaign of Cidrælon; noble pastures covered the hills of Bashan and the meads of Sharon; and the vine flourished on Carmel and on the mountains of Judah.

It happened about twelve hundred years after that celebrated deluge, which is the first epoch of all history (for from the ages that preceded this event, nothing has survived but fragments and poetical traditions), that an emir, as he would now be termed, named Abraham, renowned for his wealth, his wisdom, and probity, took his departure from his native country, at the time when the Assyrian monarchy began to extend its power, and led his flocks into the land of Canaan, which was at that time but little inhabited. The worship of the one true God, free from superstition, and the peculiar dignity of his own character, rendered Abraham so renowned, that the memory of his name is to this day held in the highest veneration, not only by the Jews, whose patriarch he was, but by the most ancient tribes of the wilderness, who are likewise his posterity, and

among other Oriental nations. He merited this renown for he abandoned his native land to escape the pollution of foreign rites and customs.

His descendant Joseph obtained by his wisdom and intelligence the confidence of an Egyptian monarch, and the horde of the Abrahamidæ migrated to Egypt. This was a happy event for them, for they were already too numerous to remain separate in Canaan, without having yet become sufficiently powerful to repel the Phœnicians, who were descending from Edom to the coasts. In Egypt it was more easy for them to maintain their primitive manners, as they dwelt in the remote tracts of mount Casius, and fed their flocks amid the deserts.

As no calamity interrupted the regular progress of increase, their families, in which number we must include their servants, of whom Abraham had already several hundreds, multiplied exceedingly in the course of four hundred and thirty years. A new royal house, elevated to the Egyptian throne, beheld with disquiet the growing power of a horde entirely devoted to the former dynasty, which seemed, by strange customs, to disturb the uniformity of the national manners, and held in their possession the districts bordering on Asia, which were the keys of Egypt. The new prince resolved upon the attempt to disperse them, to change their habits of life, and to mix them with the people of his country. They were dragged from their quiet pastures, and forced to undertake laborious works.

During this time of oppression Moses was born among the Israelites, for so the posterity of Abraham were called. His fate (for like Cyrus and Romulus he was exposed) brought him under the protection of a daughter of the Egyptian king: this princess commanded the child to be educated in all the learning of Egypt. Ancient authors inform us, that the young Israelite fought valiantly in the Egyptian armies against the Ethiopians of Meroe; but Moses himself despised this reputation. In the royal court he never forgot the freedom and simplicity of his forefathers while they led a happy and virtuous life, devoted to the pure and spiritual worship of the only true God. Happening to see one of his nation ill-treated, as was customary,

by an Egyptian, he felt the injustice, and slew the oppressor. After this act he took flight, and followed, for many years, on mount Sinai, the occupation of a herdsman, in the service of an Arabian prince.

This wanderer, who had taken refuge in the wilderness, who fed the flocks of a foreigner, his laws, his history, and his name are now, after four thousand years, the objects of veneration among all the nations from the Tagus to Hindostan, and from the frozen seas of Scandinavia to the country of myrrh and frankincense. By the help of God alone, from whom come all wisdom and courage, he forced the Egyptian king to release Israel from his dominion, and to suffer them to depart out of Egypt; he led that prince, who believed him to have mistaken his way, and who followed him imprudently, into the dangerous tract which borders on the inmost Arabian gulf, and which, according to Agatharchides, bore long afterwards the name given as a memorial of this calamity. There Pharaoh received the recompense of his rashness and tyrannical conduct. But Moses excelled all other illustrious men who have restored independence to their country, in this respect, that he formed his people to the idea and sentiment of freedom, and secured the maintenance of it by such laws as no other nation has possessed.

With this view he made a long halt in a country where Israel might be entirely free from the contagious influence of foreign manners. A sandy desert, nearly two hundred leagues in extent, stretches from the borders of Egypt towards the mouth of the Euphrates. Where the two arms of the Arabian gulf extend themselves into the land, a lofty mountain rises, which abounds in green pastures and pleasant valleys; every where else the whole life of nature seems extinguished in wastes of sand. Far hence, towards Canaan, there is not found a shrub, nor any vestige of soil; nothing is seen but the heaven and burning sand, strewn with vast fragments which have been thrown down by earthquakes from the rocky mountains, and which testify the former operations of subterraneous fire. The highest summit is a granitic rock on mount Sinai, above twenty-two feet wide and twelve feet long. These heights and pastures

breathe the balmy perfume of fragrant vegetation; secret recesses conceal fountains of cool water, and even ice and snow, while in the plains the burning sand resembles a fluctuating sea of fire. In this frightful atmosphere every object is magnified, every thing becomes prodigious and wonderful; a bird appears as large as a camel; the storms heap up the sand into hills, and transport these hills from place to place. Wherever, in spots which nature favors, fountains spring forth, the noble palm rises to view, excellent pastures are found, and woods in which the salutiferous resin distils from some plants, while others are covered with manna. Such is the vicinity of mount Horeb, which is the half of Sinai, and is separated from the latter by a deep valley. On one of these hills the most ancient tribes of the desert paid their adorations every fifth year to an unknown god: every scene of terror inspires the sentiment of devotion, and nature here displays the acts of Omnipotence. A hill extends on both sides of Faran, where for a league in extent the rocks are engraven with huge characters, to the height of about fourteen feet, which no man has yet been able to decipher: are these the letters of the first Phœnicians, older than Tyrus and her mother Sidon; or the most ancient memorials of the traditions handed down by the patriarchs? or have the Garyndes and the men of Mara here recorded their resorts to the five years' festival, as the seventy-two princes of China on the marbles of Tai-chan?

Into this land of prodigies Moses led the Israelites; from the heights where prayers were offered up of old to God, amidst thunders which resounded with unwonted terrors through the hollow clefts and among the rocky tops of Sinai, Israel received her law; but the spirit of this law was itself the greatest prodigy.

The few principles by which the primitive world was elevated to the knowledge of the Supreme Ruler, had become deformed by numberless superstitious notions and practices; the happiness of life had been destroyed, and the tranquillity of its last moments embittered. It was not that there was a necessity for a revelation of new truths, which rare dispensations mankind had not enjoyed for a

long course of time, but for a removal of the follies and errors which had crept in, and for the purification of those testimonies which were engraven on our nature, and are as ancient as our race; there was no need of the foundation of a new religion, but of the restoration of the oldest in the world, and of the settlement of the same by institutions which were suited to the condition of human nature in the age and circumstances of Israel, and which might gradually prepare the people for a more pure and exalted doctrine.* By the agency of that power which contains in itself the causes of events and guides their course, the forefathers of the Hebrews, in their simple pastoral life, secluded from all intercourse with strangers, had preserved the primitive doctrines down to the age when population was every where extending itself, so that Moses was enabled to adopt them as acknowledged truths: in like manner it afterwards came to pass, through the wisdom of that legislator, aided by the same governing Providence, and through the permanent character which he impressed upon his nation, that a people, otherwise illiterate and ignorant, has brought down that treasure of the pure patriarchal faith, protected

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* This idea, that certain feelings or principles of religion are impressed by Providence upon the heart of man, so as to form every where a part of his moral constitution, and that these universal sentiments or ideas, according as they have been developed and represented in various manners, and with different degrees of purity, in different countries and ages, have been the foundation of all religions, both true and false (though none are, in this way of contemplating the subject, absolutely and entirely false), seems to be a favorite speculation with our author. In a beautiful passage of the Antigone of Sophocles, we find the idea which forms the basis of this opinion expressed in striking and remarkable words.

οὐδὲ —— ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν
νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν,
οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθὲς ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε
ζῇ ταῦτα, κὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου 'φάνη.

Nor frail, and subject to mortality,
Dare to transgress the unwritten law divine,
Firm and immutable, and not like these
Of yesterday. It was ere time began,
Nor can we guess from what mysterious source
It first derived its being.

Sophocles, Antigone, v. 460.

by a safeguard of holy rites, for the illumination and improvement of the most distant times.

Moses did not conceal truths under the mystery of certain numbers, of magic squares, and symbolical lines: he perhaps reflected that the connection and interpretation of such expressions would be too difficult, too arbitrary; and that such a style would be too dry and abstract for his sensual people. As little was he inclined to the use of hieroglyphics. Men too quickly lose sight of the sense under the veil which is thrown over it, and forget the object of their adoration in the outward form. He ordained a great allegorical system of observances, consisting wholly in actions; so that while the simple moral law only contained the renovated faith of the patriarchs, with the addition of warnings and examples, the ritual kept the people unceasingly employed in ceremonies, striking to the senses, and sufficient to satisfy the most restless activity. That he cleared up the hidden sense of various rites, and derived them by tradition from antiquity, is an opinion which is supported by many vestiges; yet he might have foreseen, that intelligent men would not have lost the true sense without such aid.

The name of God, Jah or Jehovah, the self-existent, indicated the character which his worship and which Israel itself was to assume. In Egypt Moses had become acquainted with the danger of sensible representations, and he allowed no visible forms. In the movable temple which he erected in the wilderness, the deepest reverence was excited by a mystery into which no man penetrated; enough of splendor was exhibited to make an impression on the senses; the Holy of Holies, which was inaccessible except to one who was the highest of the priesthood, and who entered it once annually, after many purifications and offerings, bore in all things the appearance of awful mystery; the law was there contained in a costly ark; over the ark singular forms exhibited the agencies by which God displays himself, but God himself was not represented; never was his name pronounced but in adoration. Thus there existed enough to impress the senses, and enough to elevate the mind beyond the bounds of visible things. This wor-

ship Moses confided to a particular race, who were allowed to have no other possessions than what were set apart for them under this relation, and were obliged to be dispersed through every district, in order that they might be induced to watch every where over the religion of God. Moses mixed his own sons among the officiating priests, that no private interest might prejudice the great work he had performed, and he committed the high priesthood to the house of his brother Aaron.

Having instructed Israel to worship none other than the eternal self-existent God of their fathers, to have him always in their minds, and as a self-existent nation to maintain among the Gentiles the valuable possession of ancient manners, now renovated, purified, and developed, Moses gave no commandment to his people, concerning the mutable forms of political government. In two particulars he displayed extraordinary greatness of mind: first, he rendered the most essential doctrines independent of less important matters, which admitted indifferently of divers forms; and secondly, he did not reckon upon the eternal duration of his religious institutions, but predicted to his people that a prophet, or an interpreter of celestial truth, would come, like to himself, whom Israel should in all things obey. As one of those illustrious men, whose power of seeing into futurity is admirably explained by Cicero, he surveyed, with prophetic eyes, the land of Canaan, and beheld the completion of those times when the bulwarks which he had erected to defend the truth against the storms of superstition and the inroads of fraud, should become no longer availing, and when another should arise who might imbibe the spirit of his institutions, and reduce them into a form more favorable to the happiness of mankind.*

* The author seems here to refer to a passage in Cicero's first book on Divination, in which he says, "Horum sunt auguria non divini impetus, sed rationis humanæ, nam et naturâ futura præsentiunt, ut aquaram fluxiones et deflagrationem futuram aliquando cœli atque terrarum: alii autem in republica exercitati, ut de Atheniensi Solone accepimus orientem tyrannidem multo ante prospiciunt; quos prudentes possumus dicere, id est, providentes, divinos nullo modo possumus non plus quam Milesium Thalem," &c.—"Et quidem idem primus defectionem solis quæ Astyage regnante facta est prædixisse

He left to the people the full enjoyment of freedom, with a system of kindred societies, founded on the possession of land, which, under the influence of natural and moral circumstances, gradually formed itself into a federal commonwealth. Festivals, which returned three times every year, and which assembled the people in the common celebration of their deliverance from bondage, of the establishment of the law, and in the social enjoyment of rustic felicity, formed the bond of unity.

For the conservation of these ordinances Moses wrote no system of theology, the dead characters and ambiguous sense of which might afford, in the course of time, a theme of contention for priests: the few truths which it is given to man to know concerning those subjects, which are beyond the compass of our faculties, lived in the traditions of the patriarchs, which he purified, and they were more safely confided to the feelings of men than to a written text. He had accordingly no occasion to discourse even on the immortality of the soul (of which belief sufficient traces are found in his writings), either in the course of history, which pursues men no further than the grave, or in that of laws, which are founded on the relations of the visible world. For the composition of these works he collected traditions and poetical allegories, concerning the origin of good and evil, concerning that deluge celebrated over the world, and the affinities of nations; to these he added the history of Abraham and his house, and the history of his own time. Every trait of the first book has its relation to circumstances and objects which belong to it alone; when the author makes mention of the head of his own race, the spirit of truth manifests itself; his whole style is striking and

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fertur. Multa medici, multa gubernatores, agricolæ etiam multa præsentiunt," &c.

While the author allows that the fulfilment of the prophecies which refer to the advent of the Messiah was a supernatural event, and that the whole course of human affairs was influenced by Providence with a view to this pre-ordained completion, it is singular that he appears to be so anxious to represent the predictions themselves as efforts of mere human foresight. The hypothesis, which the author prefers, is burdened with greater difficulties than either of those which he avoids. He explains himself more fully in the course of the following Section.

characteristic, and its minute peculiarities stamp it with the seal of authenticity. It was indeed the custom of remote antiquity to omit the relation of particular circumstances, and represent great events in a more elevated and striking manner, as proceeding from the act and will of the first cause; in order that the sense, directed towards a practical effect, while it moved the soul with a stronger feeling of solemnity, being unburdened with minute distinctions, might simply impress the sentiment of dependence on the universal ruler, and of resignation under his government, which speaks to us in the voice of nature. Seven hundred and fifty years before the Tchu-king of the Chinese, one thousand years before the oldest historian of the Greeks, these books were written by Moses in the deserts of Arabia. Strabo has praised his law; Longinus admired the sublimity of his genius; its peculiar majesty has produced an effect on all the nations who have become acquainted with it. Thirty-four hundred years have elapsed since Moses, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his age, ascended to the top of a mountain, and having, by a last command, prevented his remains from becoming the object of superstitious veneration, departed to his fathers. The east still worships his memory; the west and north yet hold it in sacred reverence.

SECTION V.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

After the Hebrew people, under the conduct of their leader Joshua, had in a few years obtained secure possession of the greater part of Palestine, the course of the ten succeeding centuries showed, by a striking example, how difficult it is for men to adhere, with constancy, to simplicity and truth. Israel perpetually vacillated between the law of Moses and the customs of strangers. During the first five hundred years, they seven times abandoned the former for the latter, and were as often punished for their infidelity. The neighboring nations perceived rightly, in the Mosaic ordinances, the foundation of a power which

threatened them with the utmost danger; yet the Hebrews had not sufficient wisdom and fortitude to adhere to the faith of the patriarchs, in preference to more fascinating systems, and to persevere in the manners of their forefathers, when attracted by sensual pleasures, which were forbidden to Israel, but which, among other nations, formed a part of the service of the gods. When the consequences of these defections were experienced, illustrious champions arose, who delivered Israel from bondage; but their exploits produced a transient effect, which perished with those who achieved them. The nation, seeking the cause of their misfortunes, not in themselves, but in the imperfection of their government, resolved at length to choose for themselves kings.

The second of their monarchs, David, full of energy in the pursuit both of good and evil, was magnanimous enough to acknowledge his errors, and combining with exalted virtues and great talents, a fine genius for poetical composition, and a soul endowed with noble sentiments, he gained an illustrious name in the catalogue of heroes and sages. David possessed all the country from the Euphrates, and from the mountains which contain the sources of that river, to the confines of Egypt: he concluded an alliance with the Phœnicians, obtained a share of their commerce, and rendered Jerusalem a splendid capital. We mentioned before that Palmyra was built by his son Solomon.

The Mosaic institutions obtained, by means of David and Solomon, not only a completion which their founder was unable to give them, because he died before his people had gained possession of the promised land, but also a more expressive moral interpretation. The exalted soul of David foresaw a happier age, when a more lasting and glorious throne should be raised on the foundations of Israel; the faith of the people looked for their champion from his own house, for it was seen that every thing prospered in his hands; that God was with him.

His own age and that of his son comprise the finest period of Hebrew literature, of which only a few fragments, since the time of Moses, had survived the calamities of the

nation: these are full of sublimity, and of valuable information for the history of manners. The Psalms of David, with the hymns which are added to them, are the finest flowers of Hebrew poetry; they appear to have been the expressions of the heart, under the influence of vehement emotion or lofty inspiration, and to be devoted to strong feelings, rather than to the pleasing or brilliant sallies of poetical fancy; they are designed, not for the amusement of the idle, but for the necessities of the soul which is suffering under the pressure of affliction. More tranquil, more labored, and displaying more deep reflection, are the Proverbs of Solomon: the love-songs which were written by him, or in celebration of him, are more passionate and pleasing; and the orations or discourses* on the shortness and vanity of human enjoyments, which, if not composed in his age, are inscribed with his name, are still more bold, more profound and striking, even than the doubts of Asaph.†

The kingdom of the Hebrews was soon after divided, and its greatness declined. The kings of the northern tribes, whose only endeavor was to maintain the dominion they had acquired, undermined their throne by numerous transgressions of the law: the house of David, which reigned in Jerusalem, was at one time weakened through the imitation of the sins of their forefathers, and at another rewarded by the feeling of new strength, for returning to the principles of the Mosaic constitution.

During the ages which had hitherto elapsed, before the rise of the great Asiatic monarchies, the neighboring nations had seldom interfered with the affairs of Israel in such manner as to produce any material effect. A king of Egypt had inflicted a transient calamity; but when the powerful hosts of Nineveh made their appearance, the tottering throne of Samaria was unable to maintain its independence; and when it became impatient of subjection, it was overthrown. The dangers which threatened their country roused the genius of the wise and great, and a third age of

* Ecclesiastes.

† Asaph was a celebrated musician of the tribe of Levi, in the time of David.—See Psalms 50. 73. 83, which are said to be his compositions. T.

Hebrew literature appeared in songs and orations. Many excellent prophets, in bold denunciations, full of wrath and anguish, but never abandoning all hope, lamented, threatened, and chastised the crimes and follies of the falling monarchy of Samaria. But it was Isaiah, in Jerusalem, who took the loftiest flight, and surveyed all the evils that were springing up in the surrounding states, in the corruption of their manners and their laws, and which afforded cause for alarm to them and to their people, to his own and to all future times.

As he lived at that epoch when the spirit of conquest began to rage more extensively and with greater violence, his work is a precursor of all the complaints which have been uttered to the present day against this evil and its devastations, and a general prophecy of the calamities that have befallen the world in consequence of such disorders. One single assurance supports him amid present afflictions, viz. the conviction that the germ of true religion and pure morality, which for thousands of years had been preserved in Israel, would obtain at length a champion who, although through suffering, should find the way to victory. Little as it became a Roman to doubt of the fortunes of the eternal Rome, far less could a descendant of those Hebrews who had often experienced such wonderful deliverances, who had been saved by Moses, by Othniel, Ehud, Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Samuel, Saul, and David; far less could one who knew well the dignity of his law, and the unfailing power of his God, doubt concerning that hope, that certain assurance for the Hebrew nation and the royal house, which so often had been conceived in lofty inspiration, and amidst increasing perils had only been the more eagerly embraced and the more explicitly declared.

Jeremiah, in the increasing ruin of the state, attained not to the lofty elevation of the royal Isaiah, which has seldom been equalled by others, even in single passages. He saw what the other feared; his voice is that of lamentation and admonition; abandoning the thought of freedom, he provided only for a temporary existence. But the government, blinded by prejudice or corruption, embraced,

with falsely estimated strength, the dangerous part of making Jerusalem a bulwark for the declining greatness of Egypt against the rising power of Babylon. Consequently the remains of Israel, Jerusalem herself, the temple of God, the house of David, the whole commonwealth of Judah, as Jeremiah had forewarned, fell a prey to the flames, and to the arms of the Babylonian king.

Israel, appointed still to maintain her ancient laws, was led away captive from the coast of the Mediterranean sea into the mountains of Media, into provinces which had lately been depopulated in consequence of the fall of the Assyrian empire, and to Babylon, where the great king chose to environ his throne with innumerable hosts. Israel was transplanted among nations to whom the traditions of the primitive world, the foundation of her religion, were not unknown, but by whom they had been cultivated in a different manner, and variously corrupted or developed. Before those wise men died, who had brought with them from their country the spirit of the Mosaic laws, the monarchy of Western Asia fell into the hands of the Persians, who had so different an interest in the population of Babylonia, that Cyrus willingly permitted the Jews to return to their native land. With respect to religious ideas, the pastoral people of Persia were much nearer to the simplicity of the ancients than the more refined Babylonians. The impression which both nations produced upon the Jews is conspicuous in the style of the fourth period of Hebrew literature. Both the language and composition assumed a Chaldean character. The representation of Ezekiel's vision abounds with combinations of wonder; a manner of which we have some, though more rare, examples in earlier times, of Egyptian origin; and Daniel speaks more definitely than Moses concerning angels, from sources which we cannot trace.

The most important consequence of these events was, that the Jews brought back with them into their country a more entire dependence on their law. Perhaps this change was promoted by the circumstance, that in many ancient traditions preserved at Babylon, the foundation and sense of the relations of Moses were traced, and the folly of

former misconceptions perceived, while the pure sublimity of the Persian faith overpowered the enemies of one which had far higher claims.

Slowly, amid the impediments which envy, the fickleness of royal favor, and the despondency of its votaries occasioned, the new temple, and with it the new constitution of Judaism, rose to its complete form. Two thirds of the lands were in the possession of hostile neighbors. The former energy of the nation, which had effected so many extraordinary things, but which already in the time of the kings only survived among prophets and psalmists, perished under a foreign domination. The Hebrew literature lost its peculiar character, so that the old writers were rather admired than understood. Hence it came to pass that many things which belonged to the powers of the human mind were ascribed to supernatural influences, and that many events, related in the majestic style of antiquity and of the East, were considered as interruptions of the course of nature. We have endeavored, as far as our brief survey enabled us, to show how one part was derived from another, and the whole from powers of which we partake, because this representation appeared to us the true one and the most useful; for it is thus that our contemporaries and descendants, to whom the same faculties are given, may perceive, that if they will feel it to be so, God is with them as he was with the illustrious men of old. We are conducted to the great first Cause as well by the natural interpretation as by that which is usually adopted. He who understands the allegories of the East, as literally as the works of Europeans, will, by this distortion of their sense injure their intention and rob them of their dignity: we are not sufficiently instructed concerning the secrets of the human soul, and particularly of the spiritual world, to explain every thing, or to reject what we cannot understand.* The body of Hebrew literature, as it is contained

* In the attempt which the author makes to resolve the miraculous events recorded in the Hebrew scriptures into occurrences, singular and striking indeed, but taking place according to the natural connection of causes and effects, there is an evident inconsistency with the concessions which he is willing to make in favor of revelation. He

in the collection which we name the Old Testament, abounds in manifold learning, and affords us the most important instruction, by displaying how the faith of the primitive world, concerning one God and the relations in which we stand to him, and an invisible world, to which we shall in a future period rise again, was maintained among the Jews, sometimes in one, sometimes in another mode, until it became renewed and confirmed by revolutions among all nations.

The decline of Hebrew literature was an event favorable to this predestined end. As the people became more acquainted with the philosophical decorations which the Ori-

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allows indeed so much, that it would have cost him but little to have been perfectly orthodox (in the relation at least of historical facts), except that he must have foregone an opportunity of displaying some ingenuity in setting an old subject in a new point of view. He concedes and insists on the existence of a revelation in the first ages of the world. He allows that the order of Nature, or, to speak in more philosophical terms, the counsels of the Almighty, included not only those successions of events which are ordinary, and are therefore termed natural, but also those rare conjunctions which are called, accordingly, supernatural or miraculous. He admits that the Hebrew Scriptures contain the history of a people destined by Providence to preserve and transmit to posterity the true religion or the revealed declaration of his will, and shows that the course of human events was so controlled and guided by a peculiar ordination, as to promote this end by concurring circumstances through a long succession of ages. The events which completed this chain of singular dispensations are allowed by the author to have been altogether out of the usual course. It seems, therefore, strange to find him so anxious to represent the circumstances which led to this miraculous consummation as natural occurrences described under a veil of allegory; to regard the prophecies which point in every age at the predestined conclusion as so many efforts of human intellect; or to call in the aid of some mysterious and unheard-of powers of the spiritual world, rather than coincide with an explanation which demands no other cause than what has been already conceded to exist. In order to preclude every attempt of this kind, we need only remark, that the sacred writers themselves refer to miracles as the evidences that they were invested with supernatural powers. Either these persons therefore were impostors, or the facts they recorded were out of the usual course of nature, or in other words miraculous.

Notwithstanding these inconsistencies, our author must be considered as an historian whose intentions and representations are, on the whole, favorable to the cause of revelation, and if we compare him with the most distinguished of our own writers in the same department of literature, we shall view his deviations with greater indulgence. T.

ental nations and the Greeks had handed down, it was to be expected that the peculiar character of the Mosaic doctrine would rather be distorted than represented with faithful accuracy; and the more the learned became separated from the people, the more they derived their knowledge from books, in the same degree the ancient style of their philosophy, which consisted entirely in living and tangible representation, declined. The latter was alone fitted to produce that wonderful effect which was far greater than any more decorated literature has ever displayed in such different ages and nations.

After the fall of the Persian empire the Jews remained for a considerable time undisturbed; the singular aspect of their country and of their manners excited the attention of learned foreigners; the spirit of traffic, to which the great population of their little territory had necessarily given birth among them, induced the Syrian and Ægyptian kings to establish Jewish colonies in their principal towns, in order to rouse the commercial activity of the inhabitants. Annual offerings and tributes proportioned to the increase of opulence and the concourse of multitudes consisting of deputies and pilgrims, who assembled from all countries at the great festival at Jerusalem, raised the temple and the city to a greater degree of splendor than they had attained since the age of David and Solomon.

This progressive increase was promoted, though with an opposite intention, by Antiochus Epiphanes, the king of Syria, and son of that Antiochus who fought unsuccessfully against the Romans. He was an enterprising chief, and aimed at restoring the power of his enfeebled throne, by giving unity to all parts of his dominion. The diversity of manners which distinguished the Jewish race from other nations, seemed to weaken his authority, inasmuch as the combination of all the Jews who were scattered through different kingdoms might, under various contingencies, produce effects detrimental to his interests. The king was strengthened in this opinion by observing the spirit of independence which animated the Jewish nation, and which was every where displayed in proportion to the maintenance of their ancient laws. Antiochus, after the manner

of despots, gave tyrannical orders for the introduction of Grecian manners, and was astonished at meeting with resistance.

Judas, descended from that same tribe from which the ancient lawgivers of Israel had sprung, maintained the freedom of his people, and established an independent power, which was afterwards favored by the Romans. All nations beheld with wonder the unsocial nature of Judaism with respect to customs and religious rites, which elsewhere were considered as indifferent. While the Maccabees of the house of Judas, maintained with valor and wisdom the supreme authority in religious and political affairs, first as high-priests and chieftains, and afterwards as kings, the independent and peculiar character of the Jews became more and more established, so that Israel, even to the present day, though scattered among all nations, has never become mingled with them.

Philosophical sects, like those of Greece, sprang up among the Jews, as far as was consistent with their law. The austere Pharisees were teachers of the people; they not only interpreted the law, but in every letter, in the number of words, in the different modes of reading, they sought a double or manifold sense. The allegorical interpretation may be not without foundation, but they seized not its peculiar spirit; and after striking into the wrong path, they were led by their extravagance into the greatest absurdity. The cause of this error lay in the temper of the times; the more prone the people were to complain of many things as burdensome, and to hold many as indifferent, and the nearer they approached to the epoch foreseen by Moses, when another prophet like himself should introduce a new form of rites, or display the essentials of faith, without any further veil for the universal good of mankind, so much the more eagerly the Pharisees endeavored to strive against their age. They expected every thing from pushing to the utmost extremity, what could no longer be maintained, and they sought so to subdue the mind under a yoke of multiplied superstitions, that it should not be able to rise from under its load. In this attempt some acted from error, but the greater number

from interested motives; many principles of the Pharisees have come down to our times in their great doctrinal book the Talmud, in which the gross absurdities of the later rabbins are mingled with the sublime ideas, and often important explanations, of the learned Hillel. We seem to stand among the ruins of a palace, in which the old architecture is so defaced by incongruous ornaments, and the huge columns so hidden under capitals of hideous design, that we are obliged to dig in order to bring forth to view the ancient workmanship. This sect accustomed the Jews to a false taste for subtilties, for minute frivolities, under which the true sense of the law vanished from their view.

The Sadducees adhered so strictly to the letter, that an explanation suited to human nature seemed to them a blamable violation of its authority. They were indulgent towards strangers, to whom the law had not been given, and on the whole more just and humane than their rivals.

Immured in cloisters after the manner of the Pythagoreans, the Essenes, careless of fame and of worldly influence, led a chaste, contemplative, and benevolent life.

The splendor of the supreme power inflamed the ambition of Aristobulus, whose brother Hyrcanus ought to have held it according to the right of the first born. Hence arose internal dissensions, the first effect of which was the loss of independence. Jerusalem was conquered by Pompey. When the civil wars broke out between him and Cæsar, the latter gave countenance to Aristobulus, who had been dethroned by Pompey; and after the death of that prince and his son, patronized Antipater, an Idumæan, to whom the weak Hyrcanus had confided the administration of affairs. After the assassination of Cæsar and Antipater, a youth named Antigonus sought, by the aid of the Parthians, to re-establish the throne which his ancestors, the Maccabees, had founded. The Romans, who would scarcely endure an independent state on the confines of Asia and Africa, and least of all a dynasty who had to thank the Parthians for their existence, placed Herodes, the son of Antipater, upon the throne of Judea, regardless whether he was a foreigner or native. The latter was an

enterprising and crafty chief, who made Antony in the first place, and afterward Augustus, his god, while he considered the religion of the people as the means of attracting riches to his capital. Herod in vain sought to introduce the manners of the conquering Romans, and the culture of the Greeks, which were scarcely compatible with the rites of Moses: the national prejudices impeded his success with so much the more effect, as, according to the opinion of the learned, those circumstances concurred which, in their interpretation of the ancient prophecies, pointed out the speedy appearance of a deliverer.

SECTION V.

JESUS CHRIST.

Such was the condition of the human mind, such the declining state of all the old religions, when, in the 750th year from the foundation of Rome, Jesus was born at Bethlehem, the paternal city of king David. His mother was a daughter of the ancient royal house of Israel, which had long ago sunk into obscurity. She had been betrothed to a carpenter of Nazareth in Galilee.

We read in the ancient history of the Jews, that one of the most zealous champions of the law, when after a struggle of many years against increasing idolatry, he had taken flight into the wilderness of Sina, demanded of God a signal of his presence; the earth trembled, but God was not in the fearful earthquake; a tempest arose, but the blast of the storm marked not the approach of God; at length the prophet heard the low murmur of the wind, and in the still sound of the breeze the voice of God came:—So he came in Jesus Christ.

While the Jews expected a warrior who should liberate Israel from the yoke of the Cæsars, who should raise the throne of David above that of Augustus and the Parthians, and establish an everlasting sceptre in the hands of his people, Jesus of Nazareth, supposed to be a native of Galilee, a country which even among the Jews was held in no

respect for wisdom and learning, travelled through Judea, and resorted to the temple at Jerusalem, teaching and performing works of benevolence; he paid respect to the authority of the emperor, and the rites of the temple, but set the dignity of his own doctrine above the wisdom which Moses, and which Solomon possessed; while he claimed obedience and faith, as God, he called the meanest fishermen and publicans, when they believed in him, his brethren.

The doctrine of Jesus was none other than that which was impressed by the Creator on the most ancient of the human race, "that *He is*, and governs all things, in such wise, that no man, even by death, escapes from the recompense of his deeds." He announced also the important principle, that "those sacerdotal rites, which had long been permitted in indulgence to the rude infancy of nations, and to the imitation of antiquity, but whose insufficiency David and Isaiah had already felt, were now to cease, and that man should henceforth seek to acquire the favor of God by that gentleness and benevolence which He taught and practised." Accordingly, Jesus not only made no alteration in the political affairs of the state, but he even introduced no order of priesthood, nor any outward form of religious worship. He connected the remembrance of himself with the enjoyment of the indispensable necessaries of life. Those primitive truths alone, which, since man possesses by his organization no means of fathoming them, as he scrutinizes the ideas of sensible things, must certainly have been otherwise implanted by God in his creature, were by him renewed, and restored to that purity in which it is necessary that they should from time to time be reinstated, and which at intervals they have received from Providence, but never in so perfect and excellent a manner, or combined with principles so universally beneficial to the human race, as through the mediation of Jesus Christ.

After he had openly testified, in the most impressive manner, that no other completion of the hopes of Israel was to be expected, but this blessing which was destined for all mankind, through the medium of their traditions and

system of worship, Jesus knew what he had to suffer from the disappointed vanity, and the selfishness and ambition of the priests, and foresaw with compassion the misfortunes which their prejudices would bring upon their nation. But as Providence by the direction of events had combined in him the most striking traits of the ancient prophecies, by which the Jews might know the Savior of Israel, Jesus had no other purpose than the completion of his destination. Hereupon he was calumniously accused by his nation before Pilate the Roman governor, and sacrificed by him to the factious spirit of the Jews. With greater than human fortitude, he suffered death; he rose again to life, confirmed his words, and left a world which was unworthy of his presence.

The work of the Author of mercy and love was completed; the root which he had planted, namely, the renovated doctrine of the patriarchs, in the course of a few centuries spread its shoots beyond the boundaries of the Roman empire, and, together with the veneration of his name, subsists in the most essential points even among the disciples of Mahommed; expiatory sacrifices, polytheism, and the belief in annihilation, have vanished from the greater portion of the human race; the more clearly the true nature of his doctrine is displayed to our view, when purified from the corruptions of calamitous times, the more deeply does its spirit penetrate into the foundations of society; many who have supposed themselves to be his adversaries, have labored in the accomplishment of his plan; and after Christianity, like its founder, had long suffered abuse by priestcraft, every developement of our sentiment for moral goodness, and every successive advancement in philosophy, gives us new feelings, and opens to us more exalted views of its true principles and inestimable worth.

SECTION VII.

OF THE FOUNDATION, AND FIRST CORRUPTIONS, OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

After the death of Herod the Great, three of his sons, as far inferior to him in mental endowments as in power, reigned for a time over different portions of Palestine; the eldest of them, named Archelaus, being sent into exile, a Roman præfect governed Judæa, the finest division of the monarchy. In a succeeding period Herod Agrippa, the nephew of the founder of the family, who was more skilled than his relatives in the arts of a courtier, by the dubious favor of the emperor Caius Cæsar, was enabled once more to unite the whole country under his sway. After the premature death of Agrippa, all Palestine, with some trifling exceptions, fell under the Roman government; and in consequence of the extortion of the præfects, and the violent prejudices of the Jews, against which forewarnings had been given in vain by Christ, furious wars were excited, in which the whole state and religious constitution of Judæa were destroyed, amidst the most frightful calamities. All these events deserve our attention, as constituting a most remarkable conclusion of the history of a people whose destination, under the form in which they had hitherto existed, was now complete, and who from this time have incessantly wandered over the whole earth, as a living monument of the most wonderful dispensations.

As the seed which is sown in the earth is for a time still concealed, and slowly developes itself and buds forth, and at length opens and ripens into a nutritious fruit; so it was with the doctrine of Jesus Christ, concerning the early history of which we possess but scanty information. Matthew composed a history of his life in the popular language of Judæa; Mark has left a more concise account of it; Luke has given to his narrative a somewhat more historical form; and John has transmitted his testimony in a more philosophical spirit, and with more intimate knowledge: the

third of these writers has also described the establishment of the first community of Christians: the actions of the other disciples of Jesus have not been preserved by any authentic testimony. A few of their own epistles are extant, which prove that the object that all of them had in view was an amelioration in the principles and actions of men; but John whom Christ loved seems to have most perfectly conceived the spirit of the gospel. As far as we can judge from the scanty information we possess, Paul, a Jew of Cilicia, excelled all his brethren in activity. His zeal and the whole energy of his soul shine forth in his writings, which consists partly of replies to objections or to questions relating to the government of Christian societies, partly of epistles in which he confirms, or warns the converted, or opens his heart, full of love and charity, to his Christian friends.

Our information concerning the two or three following generations extends to a few pages only, which rather affect us by their simplicity and tenderness than instruct us concerning facts. Only anxious to imitate Jesus in works of love and duty, the Christians, among whom there were not many learned men, never thought of making an ostentatious display of the innocence of their lives; and, instead of making many curious inquiries into the nature of Christ, they were chiefly anxious to know what it was necessary for them to do in order to be sure of obtaining in another world that happiness which on earth was never more difficult to gain than in the times of which we are now treating. Fraternal equality was the character of their social constitution. As long as this was preserved, a diversity of action and opinion, in unimportant matters, according to local circumstances, was allowed. Those who had been converted from Judaism were permitted to retain their hereditary veneration of the Mosaic rites, and the Greek and Roman Christians seemed to be no otherwise distinguished from other men than as a particular philosophical sect. Had it not been for the commotions excited by the Jews, had not Nero accused the contemners of the gods as the authors of the conflagration of Rome, had not so many groundless fears been excited by the enemies of the Christians, and by certain

misinterpretations of prophecies, the tender plant might have grown longer under the shelter of obscurity, and might have budded forth before it was assailed by storms.

The abuse of doctrines half understood was a more dangerous evil than Nero's rage or the edicts of Domitian. This misfortune of Christendom appears to have originated in the farthest East, in a country which has very rarely exercised an influence on the fates of our Western world.

Nearly all the kingdoms comprehended in Si-yu, viz. the regions which are situated between China and the borders of the Caspian sea, were in the first century of the Christian era conquered by the Chinese arms. It appears that by some consequence of these convulsions, the Samanæans, disciples of Buddha, who probably lived about the time of the fall of the Israelitish kingdom of the ten tribes, departed from their former seats, the ancient Aria, and took refuge in the mountains of Cashmire and Tibet, and descending into the fertile plains of India, reached Ceylon, and traversed the sea to Siam, whence they extended their progress to China and Japan. The chief doctrine of the Samanæan Bonzes was, that Buddha, worthy of receiving adoration as next in dignity to God, had come among men in order to publish the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. They obtained with ease an ascendency over the simple forms of religion, and the wretched systems of philosophy which prevailed in Tibet and in part of China; on the other hand, they underwent severe castigation for having presumed to contend with the Indian caste of Brahmans who were powerful in political influence. While these events occasioned the utmost danger to the old religions of Eastern Asia, it came to pass by means with which we are unacquainted, probably in consequence of the wars at which we have above hinted, that the allegories of the Chinese book Y-King* were introduced to the knowledge

* The mysteries of the Y-King had already furnished matter of dispute to the sages of China for centuries before the time of Confu-tse, who endeavored to interpret them. They are supposed by some to contain a system of pantheistic philosophy concealed under an obscure symbolical representation. The first principle, or Great One, the source of all existence, is termed *Tao*, Reason or Intellect,

of the learned men of Babylon, and afterwards propagated with greater zeal in Western Asia, where the Christian religion was then receiving its first developement.

The idea of an unknown first cause without will or intelligence, a mere instrument of eternal fatality, and the allegory of a double image of four forms and eight symbols, which, arising from the infinite void or nothing, by means of secret combinations produced the number of man, and from the five elements developed as many principal virtues, were the foundation of the secret doctrine of the Gnostics. The origin of these allegories has been ascribed to the first Chinese lawgiver Fo-hi, and their illustration by Ven-vang and Tsheu-king is thought to be as ancient as Homer. Confucius held them in so high an estimation that for the sake only of investigating them he placed a value on his life.

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and *Tai-ki*, the universal point whence all things are derived, and into which all distinctions or varieties of being are ultimately resolved. It is said that from Tao was produced One, from One Two, from Two Three, and from Three all things that exist. The first principle is figured by a single line; by modifications of it are represented two opposite natures, which are generated from the former; the *Image*, or expression of the perfect, masculine, or active nature, which is termed *Yang*, consists of a continued or unbroken line; that of the imperfect, feminine, or passive nature, called *Yn*, is a broken or divided line. According to De Guignes the original sense of the Yang is Light or Motion, and that of the Yn Darkness or Rest; and it is conjectured that this allegory had some ancient connection with the two principles of the Persian philosophy. From various combinations of the Yang and Yn all things are generated according to a certain invariable mechanism or blind fatality inherent in the nature of the primitive Tao. The four *Forms*, or the greater and lesser Yang, and the greater and lesser Yn, are the next grade, and are represented by doubling the Images, and combining two broken and two unbroken lines for the former, and by placing a broken line under or above an unbroken line for the latter. The eight *Symbols* or *Koua*, in the triple combination of Yang and Yn, represent as many original or simple powers. By the sixth combination, produced by doubling the triple ones, moral ideas are expressed. The five uneven numbers, according to Con-fu-tse, from one to nine, represent heavenly objects, and the five even numbers, up to ten, earthly objects. The whole scheme resolves itself into a mere play upon numbers, or, according to the philosophical expression, all apparent individuality is only variety in degree and combination.

In referring the origin of the Gnostic philosophy to the Y-King, our author has at least taken a position from which he cannot be easily dislodged, since it is even doubted whether Con-fu-tse himself comprehended the enigmas of that book. T.

The Gnostics were a sect divided into various schools: they had their origin in those burning regions of the earth, where faquirs emasculate themselves, where the soul, sunk in contemplation, loses itself in splendid dreams, the incoherence of which makes them appear like sacred mysteries. The Chaldæans, divided into a number of celebrated schools of learned men, seem to have received the doctrine of the Gnostics with approbation, and even found a preparation for it in their own doctrines. There are traces, indeed, which indicate that a communication was maintained between the most distant Asiatic nations about the period of the foundation of the Babylonian empire by Nabonassar.

The Gnostics held the existence of an unfathomable Abyss* or primitive Night, from which, according to some, Time, or, according to others, Wisdom (in this instance there is a fundamental difference, for the former opinion allows of no intelligent principle), produced Revolutions or Æons,† of which each had a peculiar character.‡ After a space of time had elapsed, of which no other computation could be given but the greater or lesser number of revolutions assumed by different sects, the confluence of elements, or the rushing together of the chaotic parts, developed Intellect or Mind,§ which, being unable to find its like, exerted its power upon Chaos. From its operations the Demiurge‖ or Creator of the world had his origin. The latter, in order to obtain beings to pay him adoration, imprisoned sparks of the pure ether in earthly bodies, and thus produced mankind. In order to destroy his work, Wisdom, the first of beings, called into existence Jesus, who had only the outward form or shadow of a body, and underwent death only in appearance from a conspiracy of the priests of the Demiurge. To liberate the soul from the chains of the body was accordingly the fundamental principle of the moral doctrine of the Gnostics.

In the Æons or Revolutions of the Gnostics may also be recognized the four ages of the Indian Veda, in the fourth of which we live, and which has 395,000 years to continue, until the final consummation of all things. In fact, these

* Βυθος. † Αιωνες. ‡ Συζυγια. § Νους. ‖ Δημιουργος.

Æons only differ from Buffon's epochs of nature in the same manner in which we may suppose the style and character of the ancient Oriental people to differ from that of an European poet of the eighteenth century.

It is incredible how extensively the Gnostic mystery spread in the course of a few years in Asia and the south of Europe. There is a considerable work still extant which is conceived in the spirit of the Gnostic philosophy, and which has been erroneously attributed to Clemens, a disciple of the apostle Peter: it is, however, a book of high antiquity. Even the apostles found it necessary to contend against Gnosticism, and Irenæus, chiefly in opposition to it, composed a work, in which the good intention of the author is more conspicuous than his ability. This heresy could not fail to scandalize the new converts to Christianity who came over from the synagogue, and who still continued to revere Moses according to his merits; these persons unwillingly abandoned the falling Jerusalem, and at Pella, whither they had fled for refuge, lived 60 years under circumcised bishops, there being no article of Christianity which enjoined the abolition of their national rites. On the other hand, Simon, who passed under the name of the Magician, would seem to have been a Gnostic: he possessed a mysterious emblem, which was only shown to his most confidential disciples, and which was probably a symbolical representation.

The moral doctrine of the Gnostics, the final scope of which was to liberate the soul from the body, admitted two opposite applications according to the disposition of the teachers and students. That suicide was recommended as the shortest way to the end proposed, was, perhaps, a calumnious misrepresentation of some adversary: it is, however, highly probable that this act was not reckoned among crimes. On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that some of the schools of this philosophy held all sensual enjoyments to be indifferent. This tenet was deduced by many from that view of human nature which considers the gratifying of our passions as sometimes involuntary, often innocent, and as only becoming sinful through circumstances and the relations of society; but supposes it to be overlooked in the sight of God in indulgence to human frailty; it would

seem that Carpocrates added to this licentious doctrine the principle, that excess in debauchery is a more certain, speedy, and, at the same time, a more agreeable method of destroying the burdensome body than the path of self-mortification. In the history of many mystical sects we find traces of that maxim, that when the heart is pure, actions of this description are of little or no importance.

Yet the more severe method of destroying the lusts of the flesh by mutilation obtained a greater number of votaries. In one point of view the Gnostic principles were dangerous from the abuse to which they were exposed, and the misrepresentation which they so easily admitted; in another, they became powerful by the assistance which they received from human pride, so that the real purity of good men was brought into alliance with the false sanctity of hypocrites. Austere professions commonly find the most public approbation, because vanity is the passion which governs both sexes, and subsists through every stage of human life.

Between such dangerous extremes the first Christian societies, particularly those over which St. John presided until the 100th year of his age, held a middle path, and maintained that pure simplicity of morals and doctrines concerning which Trajan only required the information of Pliny in order to put a stop to the persecution begun by order of Domitian. Even in the second century they were chiefly known by that perseverance in works of charity which Lucian treats with ridicule, and by their remote separation from the character and manners of a corrupt age. The few writings which remain from this period are full of the sentiments of holy confidence and inward peace. The Christians were in general ill-informed, credulous of things which might afford salutary motives and examples, and bad writers; but their moral feelings were of the noblest kind, and, supported by the hopes of futurity, acquired the most sublime elevation.

The death of John, the beloved disciple of Jesus, exemplifies the genuine spirit of primitive Christianity: after a life as much revered by the heathens for its purity and goodness, as by the church for the doctrine which he taught, he beheld the approach of death, and for the last time caused

himself to be carried into the congregation of his brethren; he looked upon them, and, holding up his hands, said,—"Children, as the Lord hath loved us, so I beseech you always to love one another." Having thus said, he laid his head down and expired.

Yet for some time these societies, without adopting the Gnostic subtilties, remained equally remote from the superstition of polytheism, and from the burdensome yoke of the old law; they took no share in public dignities, which were mostly entered upon with the heathen ceremonial; they were unwilling to become soldiers; for the rest they lived quietly, were the best fathers of families, the most faithful husbands, men of gentle manners, of Spartan temperance and frugality, and inspired towards their Christian society with the affection of Roman patriots. The same men became undaunted and heroical, when the disputatious arts of the philosophers, or the imperious commands of tyrants, or the most cruel tortures, would have induced them to abjure the love and adoration of their Lord. These times are the heroic age of Christendom, during which the religion of Jesus was spread from the Ganges to the Atlantic ocean.

The decline of the ancient religions and ancient morals, and the eagerness which prevailed to receive every new and more sublime discovery, favored this rapid propagation of the Christian faith. A circumstance which also contributed to its progress was, that the fundamental tenets of Christianity were only another appellation for those universal principles, which rouse into life the dormant feelings of our nature, and bring to completion the rude and imperfect ideas of unenlightened men, while, at the same time, there were many things in them which admitted an interpretation not adverse to the wishes and opinions of the age.

SECTION VIII.

THE CHURCH.

The first Christian societies, independent of each other, maintained a fraternal intercourse by means of epistles, and when circumstances rendered it necessary, by reciprocal alms. Among others, the mother-church of Jerusalem, which, in the first effusion of Christian charity, had introduced a community of possessions, stood in need of such aid. The adoption of this measure, together with the consequences of persecutions, of famine, and of the want of necessary prudence, entailed poverty on the Christian society of Jerusalem. Perhaps this effect was promoted by an opinion connected with the old Jewish prejudices, that the destruction of the whole fabric of the earth was speedily to follow the ruin of that metropolis. While this opinion rendered men indifferent to all temporal concerns, it roused in them a more animated zeal. When experience had convinced them of their mistake, Christianity was too firmly established to suffer any evil consequences from the discovery of an erroneous interpretation, in no wise important, and against which the apostles themselves had occasionally given warning.

It soon happened in the natural course of things, that overseers or bishops were required to regulate congregations, to direct the interchange of epistles, and administer the gifts of charity: the elders or presbyters naturally became the counsellors of the bishops; and attendants or deacons executed their commissions. After the departure or death of a bishop, the elders proposed him or them who seemed fittest to succeed, and the assembly determined the choice: in consequence of the fraternal association that was formed among the churches, when the elected person entered on his office, the neighboring bishops were invited to offer up the prayers and perform the service of the day.

But in a short time the bishop came also to be regarded as the successor of the Mosaic high-priest, the presbyters

took the place of the inferior priests, and the deacons assumed the rank of the Levites. These comparisons were at first mere verbal allusions; but the vanity of individuals, which was flattered by them, and at length private interest, spread over them a degree of sanctity, and gave them a powerful impression. Hence arose an abuse which was unheard of among the Greeks and Romans, and which had not the smallest foundation in the precepts of Christ. A particular class of ministers was formed under the name of the clerus, or the clergy; to whom, in the course of time, the congregations were brought into a state of pupilage, which finally passed into an absolute domination, and obtained an authority and influence totally opposite to the fraternal character of the primitive Christian societies.

From a comparison with the high-priest of the Jews, the bishops gradually aspired to be compared with Jesus himself, who, as the sole and eternal high-priest of the Christian world, was supposed to have appointed vice-gerents in his place. In this relation they usurped a dominion over the consciences of men, which was incompatible with the simplicity and freedom of the primitive times; and since he who presides over the most essential and weighty concerns, has an authority so much the more indisputable over the less important, so the spiritual power, in the course of a few centuries, elevated itself above the temporal, the objects of which are perishable, and stand in the same relation to heavenly things, which the earth holds to the heaven, matter to spirit, and body to soul. We clearly trace the vestiges of this domineering temper, in a work of the fourth century, which is termed the Apostolical Constitutions.

Already the episcopal dignity, like the imperial throne, had been the recompense of factious intrigue. Under the name of church discipline, the life and actions of Christians had been subjected to a censorship, which in the first ages had for its pretext, to take care that the congregation might neither become contemptible by any scandalous affair, nor the object of public odium or suspicion, and which afterwards mainly contributed to the elevation of the sacerdotal power. The prescripts of ancient lawgivers had always some real or apparent foundation, in nature or in circumstances; but

in these times forced applications of scriptures, unconnected and erroneously interpreted, came to be established as precepts of paramount and indisputable authority, whereby the faith of mankind, in a few great principles, which, by a directing Providence, had been renewed from time to time, became extended into an infinite multitude of observances and subtilties; and a yoke was formed, which, in conjunction with the political circumstances of the empire, and the decay of literature, contributed not a little towards the debasement of the mind and the introduction of barbarism.

Thus was the work of Jesus corrupted by men. But as no particular event is without its appointment, in relation to the whole, so it came to pass, without the intention of its founders, that the hierarchy itself co-operated for a time in promoting the general good.

When the uncivilized warriors of the north broke in pieces the falling monarchy of Rome, Europe would have become what the Asiatic countries now are, under the yoke of the Turks, if its conquerors had not found within the limits of the empire an establishment, as yet in the full vigor of increasing power, which imposed respect by its sacred character, which could not indeed humanize the rude minds of savages by the benevolence and refined gentleness of its doctrines, but which by the dreadful ban of the church, by the terrors of hell-fire, of the devil and his angels, knew how to keep in check the unruly passions of our ferocious ancestors. Having thus become more docile, they were rendered at length capable of receiving that purer light, of which the church had preserved the spark from the times of antiquity; at first only capable of receiving the forms of religion, they became, by degrees, susceptible of religion itself; and by means of this long training, appointed for them by Providence, have finally obtained an equal rank with the ancients, in moral and intellectual greatness, and in many respects have risen far above them. It was a most happy circumstance that events have followed this course in Europe, the inhabitants of which exercise so powerful an influence on the rest of the world. If other regions, whose richer endowments render them independent of the north, had acquired the same exclusive culture, we

might have been left for ever in the darkness of barbarism. But man is only the instrument of an invisible hand.

The association of the churches gave occasion to assemblies of the rulers, which at first were summoned in particular provinces. For calling together and regulating these assemblies, presidents were required, to whom also application might be made, during the intervals, for the appointment of extraordinary meetings. For this office the bishops of the capital city, which was the centre of affairs in each province, seemed best fitted; and such was the origin of metropolitans or archbishops.

When the empire, especially after the time of Diocletian, fell into several great divisions, it was necessary that the bishops of each should hold meetings from time to time to consult on affairs of common interest, and by means of communication with other great departments of the Roman world, should add weight to their deliberations. The church, which was erected on the ruins of Jerusalem, claimed a high reverence from the first; but the poverty and oppression which it underwent left it not so much influence as fell to the lot of the great Antiochensian, the Alexandrine, and particularly the Roman church, which not only owed its original foundation to Peter, the first of the apostles, and his confidential disciple Mark, but by early connections with illustrious and powerful families, acquired a degree of influence even in the imperial court. These four churches were considered as the principal families or branches of Christendom, and their rulers as heads of tribes or patriarchs.

When the imperial residence was removed from Rome to Constantinople, a jealousy arose between the bishops of the old and new capital; between the most powerful patriarch of the Oriental empire, and the supreme bishop of the West. But the Eastern church had four, the Western only one patriarch; the branches of the former were soon lopped off by the conquests of the Mohammedans, while the latter, by means of indefatigable missions, extended itself far over the boundaries of the empire; the Roman pontiff stood alone, while the Byzantine was held in humility by the presence of the emperor, and his dignity often com-

promised in the revolutions of a fickle court. It was so much the more easy for the pope of Rome to animate his flock with one soul, and to give it the power of a well-disciplined army. The origin of this preponderance, and of the present superiority of Europe, was concealed in events of which no man could foresee the developement.

The history of the first ages of the Roman pontificate is as little known as that of the oldest times of the ancient republic. The collections of Anastasius are filled with examples of afflicted and intrepid virtue. We behold a multitude of popes giving their blood for the faith of Jesus, and distributing their earthly goods and the treasures of the church to the destitute, adding continually new majesty to the worship of God, and maintaining the dignity of their office by the serious and venerable gravity of their demeanor. Scarcely are their names known to us; the numbers of their congregations, and the revenues of the church over which they presided, are wholly concealed in oblivion. Learned bishops, in other congregations, often obtained great personal influence, but the imperial city elevated the dignity of her ecclesiastical rulers in those days, as she afterwards raised them to a second sovereignty over the world.

SECTION IX.

CONCLUSION.

Vain contentions afterwards sprung up in the church concerning the relation of Jesus to the eternal Father, against which he himself had warned his disciples. Hence a system of belief was formed, which consisted of a string of tenets and authoritative dogmas, the foundation of which was laid in error.

Another source of corruption in religion existed in the new Platonic philosophy which flourished at Alexandria. Plotinus, Jamblichus, and Porphyry felt the weakness of the mythology which they labored to support; they accordingly turned it into allegory, and concealed some things under a cloak of mystery, while they set others in comparison

with the scriptural writings, which were equally destitute of a philosophical construction: thus they induced men, who were endowed with more genius than sound learning in the languages and character of antiquity, to give up the literal sense of the sacred writings, and to seek, in arbitrary conjectures, for a hidden meaning. The philosophers also held the Gnostic principle of separating the soul from the impure affections of the body. This became, in the hands of the bishops, who were determined not to be left behind in any specious doctrine, the fruitful source of many prohibitions contrary to nature, and tending to throw a gloom over human life. Among other absurd practices, it gave rise to the seclusion of useless and indolent monastics. The Alexandrine philosophers failed of their object, which was to support mythology; their representations were too artificial, and their language betrayed a secret weakness: the people require teachers who assume a decisive and authoritative tone.

When the Christian church had extended itself over the whole empire, and beyond its boundaries, and well organized under its bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs, had stood, with unshaken fortitude, under the ten years' persecution of Diocletian; when its votaries had displayed to the world a far greater zeal for the earning of martyrdom than for the preservation of their lives; when the eyes of mankind were fixed upon virtues exalted to heroism, and even weakness elevated to the dignity of virtue; when all the abuses and irregularities which had crept in gave way all at once to the most wonderful demonstrations of strength, and from the ashes of the martyrs, as in ancient Rome from the blood of the legions, the warriors of the faith sprang up a hundred fold, all nations became at length convinced, that the churches of Christendom were inspired by motives of invincible strength—that they were animated by clear and certain prospects of an infinite and glorious futurity.

These things attracted the attention of Constantine, whose father, induced by wise and gentle principles, had put an end to persecution in his portion of the empire. If Constantine was not always guided by correct views, he was at least inclined to great and novel undertakings. It

seemed to him advantageous to his interests to declare himself on the side of the oppressed church. It was, besides, a part of his design, in the place of the antiquated, corrupt, and declining religion, to introduce one which was held in the highest veneration by the people. A measure of this nature was necessary, in order to give a new soul to the whole system of political society, the machinery of which had now become worn out and unserviceable.

We have so far traced the history of the various representations and revolutions by which those principles have been set forth and renewed which are engraven on our nature, and which have been preserved by tradition, though often darkened by a temporary obscurity; principles which elevate the unlettered person who believes them above the wise and great who reject their authority; which raise man above the limits of time, and exalt the human soul to the highest imaginable hopes of advancement in wisdom and excellence. He who is incredulous sees in these things the history of a delusion which has been and yet is more fertile in virtue, consolation, and happiness, than the most deeply reflected systems of scepticism. Those who hold the testimony thereof enjoy, in surveying the history of the human race, the same advantage which they experience in resolving the perplexities of human life; a faith pure and gentle leads them, as the pillar of fire guided the host of Moses, not dazzling them, but animating their footsteps through the dark and gloomy paths of this world of mortality,

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum—
Sedes ubi fata quietas
Ostendunt.

BOOK X.

SECTION I.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

Licinius perished shortly after the termination of a second war, which he had undertaken against Constantine, and the whole empire again fell under the sway of a single ruler. A. D. 306—337. A few years afterwards, Constantine undertook to remove the imperial residence from Rome to Byzantium; and the latter city exchanged its ancient name for that of its new founder. A. D. 330.

Constantine has been reproached for leaving Italy, by this removal of the seat of government, exposed to the attacks of the barbarous assailants from the north; yet the most fatal calamities of the Roman world came chiefly from the eastern and north-eastern side; and if resistance had been possible, the seat of imperial government could not have been more favorably chosen. The emperor was fully convinced of the necessity of giving a new organization to the state; and, on the ruins of the former constitution, of erecting an empire endowed with fresh vigor and animated by a new principle of life: but the energy that was necessary for such an undertaking had been dissipated in the corruption of the four preceding centuries; and while most of the princes who followed Constantine on the throne were far inferior to him in creative genius, Julian, who alone emulated his talents, pursued wholly different principles of action.

Constantine was fortunate in all his undertakings, and merited success by the active and enterprising character of his mind. He defeated the Goths, and instead of giving them motives which might perpetually incite them to formidable projects of revenge, he granted them a treaty of peace which left among them a strong and lasting remem-

brance of his name and generosity. He adhered as strictly to military discipline as the temper of the times allowed. He established laws, some of which were perhaps superfluous or merited the reproach of excessive severity; yet the scope and tendency of all was to restore the private virtues of the ancient Romans. He provided anxiously for the welfare of the peasantry, who were sure of always finding his ear open to their petitions. Nature had given him a sound understanding and a regard for social order; and though he was not possessed of extensive knowledge, yet he respected and patronized men of learning, and labored sedulously by comments and extracts from the best authors to cultivate his own mind, and form principles for the regulation of his conduct. He despised forensic arts; and endeavored, though without success, to place the subtilties of theology beyond the reach of further dispute by authoritative decisions. For the rest, he maintained decorous and dignified manners in his court, and permitted to his eunuchs and other courtiers neither the exercise of power nor indulgence in scandalous abuses. He seems to have been capable of the sentiment of friendship; but where he discovered ambitious views he was inexorable, not less from feelings of jealousy than because he knew by experience the disastrous consequences of seditious projects. It was believed that he might, without incurring further danger, have spared the life of Licinius; the unhappy fate of his nephew Commodus was lamented; and it was still more difficult to pardon the violent passions which led to the sacrifice of his son, the excellent Crispus. The empress Fausta had indeed borne an affection towards her husband, which induced her to betray to him the designs of her father, the old Maximian; yet, afterwards, like the wife of Theseus,* she appears to have conceived an unlawful passion for her step-son Crispus; and when the latter refused her addresses, she accused him to Constantine, who gave too credulous an ear to her calumnies: after the death of this noble youth, he is said to have discovered the black

* Gibbon discredits this anecdote, induced, as it should seem, by the desire of imprinting a deeper stain on the memory of the first Christian emperor. T.

stratagem, and to have abandoned Fausta to the just punishment of her atrocities. He was deservedly reproached for giving up the captive princes of the Franks and Allemanni as victims to wild beasts in the theatric games; but after his conversion to Christianity, he put an end to those barbarous exhibitions.

On the whole, it is manifest that the genius of Constantine, fertile, if not in happy, at least in specious, ideas, gave a new direction to the course of human affairs. He maintained peace by the reputation of his arms; and his name, alternately too much exalted and unjustly degraded by prejudiced historians, deserves an honorable mention among the monarchs of the Roman world.

SECTION II.

CONSTANTIUS AND HIS BROTHERS.

Constantine, during his life, had divided the empire between his three sons, retaining to himself the supreme sovereignty (A. D. 337—361.); Constantine the Second obtained Britain and Gaul; Constans, Italy, Illyrium, and Africa; and Constantius, the Eastern countries. His nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, were declared Cæsars; and the former was intrusted with the government of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece; the latter, with that of Armenia.

It again became evident how difficult it is to separate the possession of unlimited power from the ambition of obtaining the sole command. The Cæsars were put to death by their soldiers, apparently not without the approbation of the emperors. Constantine attempted to possess himself of Italy and expel his brother Constans; but at Aquileia he lost a battle which put a period to his life. A. D. 340. Ten years afterwards, Magnentius conspired the death of the emperor Constans; a prince who in his youth had been held in high esteem, but who had abandoned himself to the most flagitious lusts. In a wood at the foot of the Pyrenees, where he often spent whole days with the companions of his debaucheries, Constans was seized and put

to death. A. D. 350. Illyrium would neither acknowledge the surviving brother nor the assassin as its sovereign; Vetranio, an old and experienced officer, was raised by the legions in that country to the dignity of the purple.

Constantius intrusted to his kinsman Gallus, to whom he gave the rank of Cæsar, the prosecution of the unfortunate war in which he was engaged against the Persian king, Sapor, and marched into the West. Vetranio gladly accepted the offer of a large annual stipend, and laid down the purple. Italy declared in favor of Constantius before the fortune of the war had decided itself; and Rome suffered, in consequence, the furious vengeance of Magnentius. After many indecisive and bloody contests, Constantius gained a complete victory not far from Essek in Hungary: whereupon the rival emperor, having rescued his mother and one of his brethren from the horrors of captivity by putting them to death, terminated his own life by suicide; and his example was followed by his brother Decentius. The whole empire again acknowledged one lord: even the Cæsar Gallus, who had suffered himself to be excited to some acts of violence, was punished with death by order of the emperor. A. D. 354.

Julian, the brother of Gallus, now began to obtain a part in the conduct of affairs. Educated under the oppressive restraint which the jealous suspicion of his relatives imposed, he had found a noble consolation, and food for his powerful mind, in the writings of the ancients, with whom he became better acquainted than with the character of his own age. As the worthless court of Constantius afforded no illustrious example to excite his emulation, he formed his mind after the patterns of Alexander, Cæsar, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus. Constantius was the slave of his wife and his eunuchs, and the sport of sycophants; he was most active in the subtilties of theological dispute, and full of distrust towards Julian. The latter, holding his imperial kinsman in the lowest contempt, embraced every maxim that was opposed to the principles of Constantius; and, among other instances, formed a strong attachment to the religion which the eloquence of Greek and Roman authors had painted in such attractive colors: he apostatized

from Christianity, and only disguised his sentiments in order that no imprudent act might shorten a life which he had destined for the completion of the most splendid schemes.

It happened at this conjuncture that the Allemanni, whom Constantius during his war against Magnentius had himself excited to commotion, were now giving rise to the most calamitous disturbances in Gaul; and the emperor saw himself under the necessity of sending Julian thither with the title and authority of Cæsar. Constantius entertained no great respect for the talents of his kinsman; he considered him as a man learned in books, who was not likely to display any remarkable talent in the conduct of affairs, or skill in war. When Julian learnt that the Franks and Allemanni had united their troops in a common cause, he occupied Cologne and Brumat, in Alsace, as two chief positions from which he might hold the Allemanni in check, and reduce the Franks to sue for peace. Having granted their request, he entreated the imperial general, Barbutio, who was conducting twenty-five thousand men to his assistance, through Helvetia and across the Rhine at Basil, to expedite his march. On the other side, the Allemanni contrived to cut him off from this reinforcement, and to avoid a battle until the troops of Julian were reduced to thirteen thousand men. Chnodomar, the barbarian general, led an army three times more numerous than the Roman; his troops were full of courage, and not unskilled in the art of war. A battle was fought not far from Strasburg on the Rhine. The Cæsar animated his whole army by his example and eloquence; and victory rewarded his valor. After this success, the naval præfect refused him the use of the ships, which he demanded in order to pursue the enemy who had taken refuge in an island of the Rhine. But his soldiers undertook to swim over with the help of their shields, and Chnodomar himself, with two hundred of his most noble warriors, were made captives. Julian afterwards traversed the whole country of the Allemanni: the tribes who had disturbed the peace of the Rhætian province were subdued under his auspices, and the perfidious Franks under his personal command; and the boundaries of the empire, and the terror of the Roman name,

restored. Julian now liberated Gaul from oppressive imposts: and the barbarians, who had so often sold peace at so great a price, were themselves obliged to sue for it, and to submit to the hardest terms. The Cæsar listened personally to the complaints of his subjects, and was so equitable towards his servants that he passed sentence upon none without a fair scrutiny; for, "who could be secure of a blameless character if accusations were sufficient to condemn?" The gravity and temperance of his manners obtained for his youth the veneration which is claimed by age. During the conduct of the most important affairs he never intermitted the cultivation of his mind.

The machinations of an invidious court were preparing his ruin, when the army saluted him by the title of Augustus. When Constantius received this information, his life was terminated, in Cilicia, by the effect of vexation and anxiety. He was a prince of moderate talents, and possessed all the good and bad qualities which are combined with weakness of character.

SECTION III.

JULIAN.

A. D. 361—363. Soon after Julian had ascended the throne, he publicly declared his apostasy to the old religion of the Greeks and Romans, as it was illustrated in the writings of the later Platonic philosophers, and clothed with the mysteries of the theurgic art. That system, which for centuries had been associated with the customs of the state, seemed to him likely to maintain the highest reverence, as it was also connected with the preservation of taste by the writings of the greatest and finest authors.

It is a fact, that many fathers of the church at this time held in undue disrespect the writings of the ancients, which contained many passages that were highly favorable to their purpose, and of which great advantage had been made by the older Christian authors. Apollinaris of Laodicæa undertook to introduce into the schools his own works, which

bore some imperfect resemblance to our Chrestomathies, in the place of the compositions of antiquity: his idea was, like that of Gregory of Nazianzus, that it was more important to avoid all impure thoughts (as if the classical authors were the chief source of mental impurity!) than to correct inelegances of expression. The idiom of these times could not be otherwise than corrupted, through the translations of the scriptures, which were made, on the one hand, with greater literal accuracy than correct feeling; and, on the other, in a popular style, that they might be suited to the comprehension of the lowest classes; and it was not without reason that the fathers of the church dreaded a comparison with the ancient authors. The same anxiety revived in the sixteenth century, when Sebastian Castellio and other writers, having acquired as great skill as it is possible to attain in Latin composition, attempted to supply the place of the classical authors; as if elegance of language were the chief resource which is to be found in the writings of the ancients for the cultivation of the human mind!

Julian immediately exerted himself with the utmost activity to introduce into the worship of the gods, and among his followers, the salutary practices and institutions of the Christians: with a similar view, Maximinus Daza had before attempted to appropriate to the old religion the most striking and specious recommendations of Christianity.

He adopted, moreover, the principle of universal toleration, in order to lull into indifference the enthusiasm which had displayed itself in favor of a persecuted faith. He gave no commands for shutting up the churches, but ordered the temples to be opened. All the bishops who had been deposed from the exercise of their functions in consequence of the theological controversies were by him recalled, in order that the harmonious sentiment of the Christian church might become weakened by factions. During the last forty years, Athanasius the patriarch, and Arius, a priest of Alexandria, with their respective followers, had exhibited to the world the most scandalous example of the spirit of persecution. Ambition, envy, and a restless disposition to inquire into subjects which cannot be illustrated by definite expositions, seem to have been the motives

which inspired these agitators: the question, whether Jesus is similar in essence* to God, or entirely of the same nature,† had convulsed, particularly in the reign of Constantius, all the Christian congregations in the empire: and as no dogma has a secure hold on the mind, when men once depart from the province of reason and from that of simple and practical faith, none of the general councils of the church, the first of which were assembled by Constantine at Nicæa, were able to invent an illustration which might restore unanimity or impose assent by its internal evidence. Both these parties were obliged by Julian to observe peace and quietness.

He expressed, in all instances, favor or dislike, in proportion to the degree of sympathy which every man seemed to feel towards his own views. He restored the priests of the temples to their offices, and spared no pains in order to form among them virtuous and venerable characters. He introduced Readers,‡ who were appointed to preach, after the manner of the Christians, in the pagan temples. He established laws among the votaries of the gods, in imitation of the rigid censures which the church pronounced against scandalous offences; but his regulations were more lenient and indulgent towards human frailties. He set apart considerable sums for the use of the poor, remarking that the institution of alms had contributed to the more rapid spreading of Christianity. He recalled the remembrance of the splendid and illustrious times of the old Romans, and of the noble representations which were given by the ancients of the gods. He was endowed by nature with a lively wit, and with a particular talent for turning into ridicule the grave demeanor and pretended virtues of hypocrites. Julian labored day and night to increase his knowledge, to reduce his principles to a definite form, and to invent well-arranged discourses for the recommendation of them. Temperance presided in the imperial palace: the numerous cooks and the powerful eunuchs of his predecessors were excluded from its walls.

The Persian king, Sapor, probably not ignorant of the

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* Ομοιουσιος. † Ομοουσιος. ‡ Αναγνωσται.

secret discontents which prevailed among the Christian population of the empire, continued to disturb the repose of the eastern frontiers; and Julian marched to Mesopotamia in order to maintain the credit of the Roman arms. He laid waste Assyria, and threatened Ctesiphon, the capital of the Persians. On this march he suffered himself to be induced, by a pretended deserter who undertook to be his guide, to follow a path which his conductor assured him would be more expeditious than the usual track, and he was brought by it into the midst of a desert. While his army was suffering great difficulties from the nature of the country, it was assailed on all sides by the light cavalry of the enemy. The traitor was put to death by the soldiers, and esteemed himself happy in having protected his country from the greatest calamities by a stratagem which only cost his own life. The emperor resolved upon a battle; but while he was preparing for it, and haranguing his army to give them courage for the contest, he was mortally wounded by an arrow which came from an unseen hand. Some ascribed the deed to a soldier weary of a long and difficult march and of the rigor of military discipline; several fathers of the church, to a supernatural power; while other authors impute it to an enemy of the gods. When Julian felt himself to be on the point of death, he admonished his chief commanders to exert themselves valiantly, and expired.

Julian had more genius, Constantine a much more correct and enlightened understanding; the latter sought to erect on the character and disposition of his times the basis of new virtues and original plans, while Julian attempted to build upon foundations which the lapse of ages had already undermined. Instead of laboring to carry forward the plan of Constantine, and to give it that improved form which it so much required, he waged war against the age in which he lived, and exerted himself in vain to prop up an edifice that was every where falling into ruins. His intentions were sincere, and he was unconscious of the influence which the hatred he bore towards Constantius, and the resentment he felt for the sufferings of his youth, could scarcely fail to produce upon his mind. His fate calls for our

compassion; for after having abandoned the hopes of Christianity, he was always tormented by superstitious terrors: in his expedition against Persia, he ordered a woman's entrails to be examined, in order to gain an insight into futurity. In another point of view he deserves our commiseration; he who had undertaken an unequal contest against the voice of the whole world, felt in his last hour that the work of his life perished with him.

SECTION IV.

JOVIAN; VALENTINIAN; VALENS.

Sapor made so good use of the distance which separated the army from their magazines, that he obliged Jovian, whom the legions had declared emperor in the place of Julian (363—364.), to purchase a peace by abandoning to the enemy Nisibis, the most important garrison of the eastern frontier. The new emperor was a Pannonian, an able sovereign, and a man of exalted character; though addicted to pleasure, he was not unlearned, and so sincerely devoted to the Christian religion, that he had exposed himself for its sake to the displeasure of Julian. He died before his arrival at Constantinople.

Two other Pannonians were elected by the army to succeed him (364—378.); Valentinian was the person chosen, but he immediately nominated his brother Valens as his colleague, and confided to him the government of the eastern provinces. Valentinian was a man of courage, who had made military affairs his principal study, and was the inventor of certain weapons. He secured the banks of the Rhine by fortresses, and carried on war successfully against the Saxons, the Allemanni, and the Sarmatic tribes. He was only deficient in temperance; and if he had known better how to govern himself, he would have found his army more obedient to his commands. Valens was not deficient in understanding, but too often became violent through the influence of his passions, and exercised the most dreadful atrocity towards the rivals of his power: he

took a part in the controversies of the bishops, and treated those who were not inclined to the Arian doctrine with extreme severity.

The court of Constantinople now resembled the residences of Oriental monarchs. Empresses and eunuchs soon became powerful, and ruling ministers rendered the sovereign inaccessible. Cruelties were as often perpetrated as under the ancient tyrants: they were not as formerly the excesses of the fiery souls of rude and impetuous warriors; but the effects of suspicious weakness, which apprehends danger on every side, and becomes the more intolerable by its contemptible meanness. Hortar, a leader of the Allemanni, was burnt slowly from the soles of his feet upwards by order of Valentinian; Withicab, another chief, who had surrendered himself to the good faith and honor of that prince, was put to death during a banquet: Procopius, who had been declared emperor, was, by order of Valens, bound to the branches of trees which were bent downwards, and which, in rebounding into their natural position, tore him in pieces. The old laws against treason were revived; and under this pretence persons were employed to lie in wait to observe the conduct of all men possessed of great property. Many fell sacrifices to the ill-placed confidence of friendship. Justus, who presided over the administration of justice in the Picentine, was put to death because he had dreamt that he was clothed with the purple. Valens surpassed even this example; a soothsayer having foretold that the emperor should be succeeded by a man whose name began with *Theod*, he caused many distinguished persons to be destroyed because they were named Theodorus, Theodotus, or Theodosius.

SECTION V.

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.

The military virtues which were already extinct in Rome declined also among the legions. The treasures of the world were allotted to the pay of the barbarians who con

stituted the strength of the armies, and who became generals, and rose to consular dignities. The coats of mail were now laid aside, and it seemed as if the object in view was to enable the troops to fly more expeditiously. The infantry fell into disuse; but it was rather the love of ease and the motive of personal convenience that gave the preference to the cavalry. The garrisons that were placed in the frontier towns degenerated into a militia, who applied themselves to civil arts and trades. The fortresses of Valentinian were unable to withstand the progress of the enemy, who left them behind, and advanced into the heart of the empire.

The hired barbarians often refused to fight against their countrymen, and as often they betrayed the Romans into their power. As their pay was the only motive of their service, they preferred robbery to battle; and as soon as they chose to fight, the general was obliged to engage, though it were contrary to the maxims of warfare. It was thus that Constantius was defeated by Sapor, and thus a secret march of Valentinian was revealed to the enemy by the smoke of plundered villages, which he could not prevent his soldiers from committing to the flames.

"Yet the ferocity of the Saxons," says Salvianus of Marseilles, "the robberies of the Alani, the rage of the inebriated Allemanni, the unfeeling cruelties of the Gepidi, the abominable licentiousness of the Huns, the perfidy of the Franks, with whom oaths are mere forms of speech; all these enormities are nothing compared with what we have to suffer from the Romans who hold the true faith: when our unjust judges dare not openly to punish innocence, they have the art of so perplexing the most simple affairs, of so drawing them out, that it is useless to think of the aids of justice; the emperors, when they wish to reward a favorite, grant him a branch of the public revenues, and he immediately becomes the pest even of our meanest villages. We have advanced so far in crimes, that he who will not become wicked, cannot live in security."*

This corruption and relaxation of all morals was the true

"* In hoc scelus res devoluta est, ut, nisi quis malus fuerit, salvus esse non possit."

cause of the well merited fall of the empire. "In a short time," as St. Jerome and Isidore of Seville describe, "innumerable swarms of Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatæ, Alani, Saxons, Gepidi, Heruli, Allemanni, and Burgundians, broke loose on all sides and passed over the Rhine; then the inhabitants of Mentz, flying into the churches, were hewn down at the feet of the altars; then, after a valiant resistance, Worms fell a sacrifice to their rage; Spires, Strasburg, Rheims, Arras, Amiens, Tournay, the cities of the Netherlands and of the Lyonese, the province of Narbonne, Novem-populonia, and Septemania, became an interminable scene of ruins; when no sword destroyed, hunger ensured a more protracted death; when all Spain was plundered, and laid waste by fire, mothers nourished the last hours of their exhausted life with the flesh of their own children; when sword, and pestilence, and hunger, gave a moment of repose, wild beasts came without fear to feed upon dead bodies in the defenceless towns."

After the old Romans had conquered the fairest portions of the earth, genius and all other excellence found their only consolation in the imperial city; after the manners of the citizens had been corrupted and debased, military virtues alone survived in the field of battle and in the camp; when the discipline and valor of the legions had declined, every thing was lost. While the hordes of German barbarians prepared and consummated these frightful calamities in the West, events happened in the remotest East, which, by a wonderful catenation of causes and effects, gave origin to the first disintegration of the empire. As Asia and Greece had fallen under the yoke of the Romans, whose very name was unknown but a short time before to the people of those countries; as the splendid superstitions of the Grecian poets and philosophers had vanished before the face of a few fishermen of Judæa; so it came to pass that a war carried on in China, of which no European had even heard, had already in the age of the first Cæsars given rise to calamities, by the consequences of which the Western empire of Rome was doomed to fall.

SECTION VI.

THE HUNS.

On the mountains and lofty plains, which divide Siberia from India and China, three great nations have wandered from the earliest times. Siberia itself is inhabited by at least four-and-twenty races, distinguished from each other more or less in origin, language, and manners, who in the last age were subdued as soon as they were discovered by the Russians. It was far otherwise with those pastoral tribes, who, without fixed habitations, and ignorant of the use of money, roam with their herds over the wastes of Ural and of Altai.

One of these nations, the Turks, have subjugated Western Asia and a part of Europe. We shall observe another, the Kalmucs or Mongoles, conquering India; the third, the Mandschu, a people full of courage and subtilty, ingenuous, and susceptible of the best culture, reigns in China. The Mandschu are connected by affinity with the Tungusians, a nation, who roam about so unceasingly in the plain of Boghdo, that it is difficult to find them settled during two successive nights in the same place. The chase affords them sustenance; they follow the chase in the wide regions, which extend from the borders of China to the river Jenisey.

On these fields, where the Russians and Tungusians together hunt the Sable; where the Daurians call only that place their country, whither no oppressor may be able to follow them; where the Natkis and Gilankis have no other means of supporting life than what they obtain by fishing; were the Tunguse-Sabatschieh, drawn by huge dogs in swiftly gliding sledges, fly over the mountain plains, which are buried in deep snow; there dwelt the Hiongu, who in the age of Hannibal shook the flourishing Chinese dynasty of Han, and who appear to be the same nation of Huns, which in the time of the emperor Valens occasioned a movement among the nations, and before whom, in the fifth

century, the banks of the Volga and the kingdom of the Franks at the same time trembled.

Their history is contained in unprinted Chinese annals, which are preserved at Petersburg and at Paris; that of the Huns is given by Ammianus, in the relation of the embassy of Priscus, and by the historians Jornandes and Procopius. We find many ruins of towns where the Hiongnu dwelt; in the midst of their wastes rocks offer themselves to our view regularly disposed round a middle point, and marked with inscriptions. To these monuments, unintelligible indeed to us, the Chinese annals refer; the old Romans believed these regions covered by an unnavigable ocean; missionaries and later conquerors have opened them to our knowledge. We derive some information from the first Christian teachers of the Nestorian sect who wandered thither, through the medium of abstracts from Syrian manuscripts. It is even now observable that the Kalmucs are indebted to these persons for their knowledge of the art of writing; their alphabet is the Syrian Estrangelo with inverted characters. The western monks and Marco Polo the Venetian who penetrated into the same countries, agree with the Chinese in their accounts of these mountain hordes of central Asia, which appears the more remarkable, when we consider the ignorance of most of them, and the negligence of their editors, without excepting Bergeron. Abulgasi's Tartarian history is rather distorted than translated. The most learned investigator of the history of these nations, that has hitherto appeared, was Deguignes; this author in his narrative is often diffuse and brief on important points; he even appears to contradict himself, and is so much the more worthy of credit, for if he had translated less scrupulously, he might have glossed over these faults; and it is fortunate for history that he had less imagination than learning and accuracy. We propose to survey the history of the Hiongnu chiefly according to his relation.

We have not sufficient traces of their language to establish on more than probable grounds the opinion that they were a race of Kalmucs. In referring to the resemblance of figure, we may remark that the Kalmucs have in general scarcely any beard; their eyes are small and sunk very

deeply in their heads; they have flattened and very broad noses, broad shoulders and squat bodies; most of them are puny in stature, but possess great muscular strength without having strongly marked features. A similar description is given by the ancients of the Huns; they were of short stature; their eyes were like the eyes of moles, and could scarcely be discerned; their countenances were full of scars (it is customary among good families of the Kalmucs to mark the cheeks with incisions); the Huns were besides broad-shouldered, had thick necks, were very swarthy, and seemed properly to have no features, but to be moving masses of flesh.* Like the Kalmucs they loved to dwell in the plains of Bærætala abounding in rich pastures, where the soil, the water, and the herbage, are impregnated with saline particles.

With the same good fortune which gave to the Kalmucs the throne of Delhi, and the high priesthood of Tibet, besides the dominion of the Crimea lately subverted by the Russians, the Hiongnu flourished in a more remote antiquity. Their history begins with Te-u-man, who about the time of Hannibal was a powerful chieftain on the banks of the Amur and Onon; and from the eastern ocean to Tibet, was sovereign of six-and-twenty nations. The Siberian tribes honored him with tributary gifts in peltry and wool. Others, flying from his yoke, precipitated themselves on the kingdom of Bactria, and overturned a throne founded by the successors of Alexander.

The Hiongnu lived like the Scythians described by Herodotus. They drove to and fro through the wilderness the wagons which bore their tents, in quest of the necessary sustenance for their herds. The latter afforded them the support of life; the hides became their clothing, and served them for banners in time of war. From the Chinese they learnt the use of silk. The following is the lamentation of the Chinese princess, wife of the Hiongnu chief of Usiun: "A tent is my melancholy habitation; a palisado the wall of my new city; raw flesh is my food, and my daintiest drink is curdled milk." The title of the

* "Non facies, sed offa."

chief was Tanshu, Son of God, or Tschemli-koto-tanshu, "son of heaven and earth; lord by the power of the sun and moon." There was on this subject a religious controversy; for the Chinese maintained that the prince could only be called "Image of the Son of God." Pope Clement II., however, has proved that the Chinese prince also might be named "Son of Heaven," but not "Son of God." Originally the office of the Hiongnu chief was a burden which one brother willingly threw upon another, and against which tender mothers sought to preserve their sons not yet arrived at man's estate. In the first month the nobles used to assemble round the Tanshu; in the fifth month they sacrificed with him to the Heaven, the Earth, the Spirits, the Shades of their forefathers; the third assembly was a review of the army; each tribe gave an account of its population and the number of its herds. The Tanshu had two great officers under him: one was governor of the east; the inferior of the two had authority over the western people. Four-and-twenty chieftains, each commander of ten thousand men, formed his council; as afterwards in Moldavia and other countries conquered by these barbarians. All the Hiongnu were freemen: their captives became slaves. They worshipped God, according to the ancient custom of Siberia, in the sun; every morning when he arose in the east, the Tanshu prostrated himself before him; he performed the same ceremony in the evening when the moon appeared. When the mother of a certain Tanshu lay sick, the soothsayers answered, "The anger of the ghosts of our forefathers causes this affliction, because we have neglected to offer up to them a captive taken in war." Soon after this offering had been performed, snow fell of supernatural depth and long duration; a pestilence spread itself, of which the Tanshu died, and it was thereupon perceived that human sacrifices were not agreeable to the gods. The Hiongnu made this observation only ten years later than the period when the Romans abolished the custom of offering human victims. Honors continued to be paid to the Tanshus after their decease by their wives and slaves; at the full of the moon, games were celebrated around their graves; towns were erected in the vicinity of

them. (The same custom still prevails in China; and in like manner Constantine the Great, and even the kings of France to Lewis XIV., were honored forty days after their death.) As the shepherd nations, who on their plains remark various phenomena of nature, are in general addicted to superstitious observations, the pastoral region of the Hiongnus was called by the Chinese "the mountain of ghosts," of apparitions. In war the Hiongnu, like the Germans, like the Arabs and the Mongoles, were irresistible so long as they preserved their ancient manners, which gave them advantages such as the armies of more civilized nations scarcely obtained from their superior skill in tactics. Every fifth man was armed (it was the custom at the same time among the Helvetians to arm every fourth man); their finest troops were cavalry (as were those of the Parthians and the Poles), their wars being carried on chiefly on plains; under the four-and-twenty generals were 240 captains of a thousand, 2400 centurions, and a proportionable number of those who had only ten men under them (in the same manner, at a later period, Genkis Khan appointed his army in a similar country). As in fighting they threw their weapons from a distance, and often during their flight, and as the contest depended chiefly on swiftness, they bore no defensive arms: but they had manufactories of arrows in the mountains of Altai. They dressed their children in warlike attire; the latter riding on huge dogs, shot a kind of animal which has been compared, without sufficient likeness, to the mouse, and the flesh of which was esteemed a delicious morsel; when they became older, they hunted the fox. The Tanshu, like the Chinese emperor, often proclaimed a national hunt. The collecting of an army estimated at 100,000 men, was once effected secretly under this pretence. To this day the Tungusians still hold such hunts. A youth became of full age from the time in which he had first slain an enemy. The law of war was as severe as among the Chinese. The old men, the women, and children, were wont to seek safety in forests lying to the northward; and the same refuge served the defeated army as a rallying point. As the Hiongnu, like the Greeks, believed that the severed soul wan-

dered around the body until the latter received interment, he who buried the corpse of his fallen comrade became his heir. It is moreover related, that the Tanshu Hu-hansie drank out of the skull of an enemy, who had been killed a century and a half before.

The plains of the Hiongnu lie so high that a traveller who goes thence to the Chinese wall, and to Pekin, constantly descends. The wall was erected by the Chinese general Mum-tien, a valiant and learned man, for protection against the "wild people of the mountain." He raised this work, within five years, through a tract of country ten thousand *lis* in length. One *li* is 1750 feet. Its foundation is of granite; the wall itself consists of flints and bricks; the height varies according to the situation, but is in general two fathoms and a half, and the breadth two fathoms. At certain intervals there are fortified towns in the wall, some of which contain ten thousand inhabitants; and in the land of Schen-si there are four-and-forty cities, defended by walls and fosses of water; but these are of far more recent date. For a long time there were many petty kings in China, who defended, in arduous wars against the great monarch of Pekin, their usurped dominion or their original independence. These were finally subdued; and now a more exalted title is given to the single victorious chief.

About this period the Hiongnu exhibited a proof that a state has never more reason for fear than when it believes itself secure. They forced the Chinese to purchase their friendship by annual gifts. They maintained treaties with the same fidelity which, in the Hajatalah, or Euthalite Huns, a tribe of the same people, excited the admiration of the Grecian emperors in later ages. As the Chinese always sought to weaken them, they also availed themselves of more than one opportunity of invading the borders of China, and breaking through the wall by the three ways which lead through the desert of Gobi, and through the fruitful valleys into which the latter open themselves.

They were at length weakened by internal dissensions. It thus came to pass, that though the stronger party in war, they were subdued by the policy of the powerful China. The Tanshu Wo-yen-ki-u-ti wished to restore the author-

ity of his predecessors, which had decayed from the time when the highest honors became hereditary; by this proceeding he excited the discontent of many great and ancient families, so that they left their country, and moved eastward to the peninsula of Corea. Disputes about the succession arose also in the house of the Tanshu, and Hubansie was induced to call in the aid of the Chinese in defence of his right. This disgraceful act inflamed many valiant men, lovers of their country, with the desire of revenge, and they departed into the countries towards the west. All these movements excited a tumult, of which the Chinese availed themselves to mediate a treaty, which, under the pretence of restoring peace to all, established fifteen Tanshus instead of one. It was intended to render the administration more easy by these means, and it became more perplexed. After a long civil war, the kingdom of the Hiongnu was separated into two parts. One division of the nation passed under Punon into the forests of Upper Siberia; those who followed the Tanshu Peh mixed themselves with the Chinese; the noblest of them were enlisted among the body-guards, and soon rose to distinction. The wild freedom which Punon's adherents maintained, occasioned perpetual disquiet to China; but these tribes again weakened themselves by their own fault, and the north-eastern Hiongnu became divided. There happened, in addition, a drought excessively destructive to the cattle, and swarms of venomous insects prevailed, which occasioned a pestilence.

Accordingly, at the time when in Rome Domitian reigned sole emperor in his second year, thirty-eight thousand fathers of families determined to go over to the Chinese, with forty thousand horses, and one hundred thousand oxen and sheep; four years afterwards, fifty-eight other tribes followed their example. The long duration of misfortunes broke the spirit of the nation. After this the Chinese obtained the great victory, of which the historian Panku caused a memorial to be inscribed on the rocks of Yen-yen. At the time when Domitian reigned at Rome, in his 13th year, the decisive battle took place between the Tanshu Yut-shu-kien and the Chinese general Te-u-hi-en, in which the former

was defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded. Then all submitted themselves to the conqueror, to whom the land of their forefathers was dearer than liberty; those who preferred losing all to passing into a state of vassalage, raised their tents from the Onon and Selinga, passed with all their herds into the deserts of Dsongar, on the side of Turfan, and onwards to Mamaralnahar and the Caspian sea. Where they found fine pastures, and a favorable country for the chase, they halted for a time. For the space of nearly 200 years the Chinese have information concerning their wanderings, until they lost themselves entirely among the obscure nations of the west. On the other hand, as the European geographers mention only a small tribe of Huns on the Caspian sea, towards the latter period of the Roman empire, so we continually find these barbarians making a more conspicuous figure in succeeding times.

Lastly, the Romans relate, that about the time of the emperor Valens, from snowy mountains as high as the heavens, there descended at once a swarm of unknown tribes, the warlike Huns, the Avires, or Avares, and the Hunuyur; appellations which point to Siberia, where there are yet countries with similar names; they were begotten by devils, and brought forth by sorceresses in the forests of the north. They were distinguished by uncommon strength, by swiftness of foot, and by a keen eye: they were excellent archers, continually fighting on horseback and flying. Some huntsmen, as the Romans inform us, in pursuing a hind, had discovered a ford in the Mæotic morass, and thus opened Europe to these barbarians.

It is said that they immediately offered up the first European captives to the ghosts of their ancient chiefs. Hermanrick, king of the Goths, was sovereign of the country; and all the nations, from the Black sea to the Baltic, revered his name. He survived not to see the calamity of his people. Ammi and Sar, two Roxolan, perhaps Russian youths, whose sister he had condemned to death, because she had occasioned the desertion of her husband, killed the great Hermanrick, in the 110th year of his age. The Gothic nation had two great divisions; the Baltes were chiefs of the western Goths; the eastern Goths obeyed

the house of Amalu. The Huns seldom waged a regular war with the western Goths; but they were so much the more successful in carrying off their wives and children into captivity.

SECTION VII.

THE GOTHS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

While the Gothic nation was in this state of confusion and dismay, their princes Safrach, Aleth, and Fridigern, sent deputies to the emperor Valens, who promised, on the condition of being allowed to pass over and occupy land on the southern side of the Danube, that their people, protected by that river, should at all times maintain this boundary of the empire. The emperor accepted their proposal, aud caused them to be instructed in the Christian religion by Ulfila, according to the tenets of the Arians. They were not pursued by the Huns, who continued, for more than 50 years, to follow the chase, and occupy themselves with remote wars in the forests and mountain plains of Southern Russia, of Poland, and Hungary, before they came into any relation with the Romans.

The Goths, who departed reluctantly from their pastures in the interminable plains of Moldavia and the Ukraine, found themselves and their flocks too much confined among the people of the Roman provinces, and they begged permission to supply their necessities by barter. The emperor accordingly granted leave to Lupicinus and Maximus, præfects of the neighboring districts, to trade with them, with an exclusive privilege. The latter made so shameful an advantage of this license, that for a loaf of bread and ten pounds of unwholesome flesh, which was often dog's flesh, the Goths were obliged to surrender to them a slave. The flocks of the latter were for the most part exhausted; the number of their bondsmen was very much reduced, and many were compelled, by the cravings of hunger, to sell their children for bread.

While the nation groaned under these calamities, Fridigern, their prince, was invited to an entertainment by the

Roman governor. He was a valiant youth, full of the heroic spirit of the ancient Baltes. He went, accompanied by many young warriors, his friends and companions in arms. While he was feasting, the cries of his party saluted his ears, whom the Romans had suddenly attacked, and were putting to death, with the hope of making their leader an easy prey, and of thus breaking the spirit of the Goths. Fridigern, with rage in his looks, rose from table, and rushed out of the apartment with his sword in his hand; he rescued his companions, and escaped with them out of the Roman territory. He afterwards represented to the Goths that the Romans, who were regardless of treachery and the basest crimes, had conspired their destruction, and that war was the only means of preventing the evils that threatened them. The Goths immediately spread blood and devastation over all the countries which lay on their way through Mysia to Constantinople. Valentinian in the west is said to have refused succor to his brother, because Valens entertained the opinions of Arius, and rejected those of the Nicene council concerning the person of Christ; and the same pretence availed Terentius, the governor of Armenia: accordingly, the imperial general, Trajan, was easily defeated. This misfortune spread dismay among the multitude: "Shall we ever be victorious," said they, "under an emperor who has the Son of God against him?" In the meantime the Goths approached, and the flames of burning villages were seen from the walls of Constantinople. At length the emperor Valens marched with an army against them, which they resolved to encounter in the plains of Adrianople. The Gothic infantry soon overpowered the cavalry of their enemy, and the Romans were compelled to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. Their loss was great; the emperor was wounded and fled, his horse fell, and he was scarcely able to conceal himself in a peasant's hut; the barbarians, who pursued, without guessing that a Roman monarch was concealed under the thatch, set fire to the straw, as they were accustomed to do, and in this manner Valens terminated his life. A. D. 378.

When the Goths appeared before Constantinople, the empress Domnina excited the people to resistance. The

city was newly built, and secure in every respect, and regular sieges were not within the power of barbarous assailants. In the meantime Gratian, who with his brother Valentinian, then four years old, had succeeded their father in the west, had declared Theodosius his colleague in the sovereignty. Theodosius was a Spaniard of an old family, allied to the house of the illustrious and excellent Trajan; his father, a very respectable warrior, had formed him by his own example; and that jealousy alone, which, under the suspicious government of the former emperors, attended the display of shining talents and virtues, had hitherto prevented the youth from rising to distinction.

SECTION VIII.

THEODOSIUS THE FIRST, AND HIS SONS.

Gratian now confided to Theodosius the eastern empire, which was the theatre of the Gothic war. A. D. 379. The latter found Fridigern in Greece, while Aleth and Safrach were employed in plundering Pannonia. He now endeavored to weaken the Goths, by fomenting jealousies among them, at the same time that he strengthened his own authority by vigorous measures, and prepared the means of overthrowing the enemy. After the death of Fridigern, he invited his successor, Athanaric, to a conference, in which a treaty was agreed upon, and a considerable subsidy in corn and cattle was promised to the Goths. On this occasion Theodosius renewed the appointment of an auxiliary body of troops, consisting of forty thousand men, levied from that nation, which had first been instituted by Constantine.

When Athanaric, educated among herds and in the camp, first beheld in Constantinople the splendor of a court; the imperial palaces, the war-ships which filled the haven, and the imposing aspect of a regular army; he exclaimed, in astonishment, "Truly he must be a god who reigns here: all his people have but one soul; all things hang together in his kingdom!" Theodosius had restored as much as possible the appearance of military discipline. The Gothic

prince died in this capital; and so deeply had Theodosius impressed these barbarians with the admiration of his wisdom and justice, that they now declared that as long as he lived they would acknowledge no other chief. About the same time the Persians demanded a renewal of the treaty of peace.

Gratian, who was a meritorious prince, but incurred the hatred of the Roman army, because he placed greater confidence in the foreign auxiliaries, had conducted a successful war in the west, against the Vandals or Burgundians, who were often confounded with each other. The licentiousness of his soldiers embittered his good fortune; and although he was endowed with an enlightened mind, and with mildness and generosity of character, these good qualities were not sufficient to prevent a seditious movement in the army, which elevated Maximus to the throne. A. D. 383. Gratian was put to death by a secret stratagem, at the instigation of the latter.

Maximus, to whose lot Gaul and Britain had fallen, in consequence of this revolution, drove the young Valentinian out of Italy, and stationed strong garrisons to defend the passes of the Alps, while he remained in person at the head of a powerful army, on the road which enters the country above Aquileia. He had not perseverance to adhere firmly to these prudent measures, and Theodosius soon availed himself of the errors which he committed, and which finally cost him his life. A. D. 388.

From that time the empire remained in tranquil obedience to the two emperors, until the secretary Eugenius, and the count Arbogastes, murdered the young Valentinian, whose good qualities were scarcely beginning to develope themselves. The assassins were conquered by Theodosius at the foot of the Alps, though not without difficulty, and, as it is said, a wonderful concurrence of the elements. A. D. 392.

Theodosius afterwards reigned alone, with moderation and ability, and displayed a great knowledge of mankind, and the peculiar character of his age, together with a wise indulgence to its ruling prejudices; but, unfortunately for

the empire, his reign terminated in the course of a few months. A. D. 395.

His weak and indolent sons, Arcadius and Honorius, who retained the title of sovereignty, the former at Constantinople and the latter in Italy, confided their power to ministers, and were not possessed of sufficient discernment to make a good choice. The ministers of government sought, in order to render themselves the more necessary, to multiply the dangers of the empire.

The Goths were defrauded of the subsidies which had been assigned to them by Theodosius; and men of sound understanding among them soon discovered how different his administration had been from that of his successors; they accordingly chose Alarich, of the race of the Baltes, for their prince. Rufinus, the minister of Arcadius, was informed of this proceeding, and thought he deserved the gratitude of his master, by counselling the Goths to turn their arms against the western emperor, to whose aid he promised to send no succors. Stilicho, the minister of the Italian monarch, was rejoiced at the prospect of the war, in the course of which he contrived to surround Radegast, a Gothic chief, in the mountains near Fiesole, and to cut him off. The Roman general took no precaution to guard the frontiers of Italy against the incursions of Alarich.

A. D. 408. In the last year of the reign of Arcadius, and in the thirteenth of Honorius, while Stilicho and Aurelian were adorned with the consular robes, the Visigoths, under Alarich, the Baltic prince, broke up from their settlements in Mysia and the Hither Dacia, passed the Illyrian frontier, and came without resistance to Istria, and to the pass which leads into Italy: they crossed the last arm of the Alpine range, traversed the Venetian territory, and passing the Po, arrived within three miles of Ravenna, which was then the imperial residence, for Honorius was at enmity with the senate and people of Rome. Thence Alarich caused the following message to be conveyed to the emperor: "That the Goths had arrived in those districts, with their wives, their children, and their cattle, and begged him

to grant them a country to dwell in: that if it pleased the emperor a day might be appointed in which the Goths and Romans should measure their prowess against each other in the open field." Honorius returned answer, that he allowed the Goths to take possession of any territory that might please them, in Gaul or Spain. This permission was of no great value; for Gaul was every where laid waste at that time by the Franks, and the Allemanni, preceded or accompanied by the Vandals, had already passed the Pyrenean mountains. The minister held it to be the wisest policy to destroy the barbarians, by engaging them in mutual wars; but they understood better their interest, and united themselves in projects of common plunder and partition; they experienced no resistance, for all good generals were suspected by the feeble monarch, or disdained his inglorious sway. Alarich however accepted the offer of Honorius, and without permitting his people to commit the smallest act of violence, retired to the Alps, which separate Italy from France. He took with him no booty, nor did any of the Italian people suffer by his arms. In the mountains of Piedmont the Gothic host celebrated the festival of Easter, when, in the midst of the solemnity, they observed, with astonishment, the approach of Sarus, the personal foe of Alarich, at the head of a considerable army. They were suddenly attacked; but after suffering some loss, sated their vengeance and indignation in the slaughter of their insidious enemies.

The Goths now turned their arms towards Italy, and after laying waste Liguria, the Æmilian and Flaminian provinces, Tuscany and the Picentine, approached the walls of Rome, determined to revenge their injuries, and drive Honorius from the throne. In the 1164th year from the building of the city, on the twenty-third of August, Rome was taken by Alarich, the Visigoth. A. D. 409. He entered the imperial palace, plundered it, and the houses of the great; but so far moderated his wrath, that he suffered no blood to be shed, and preserved the city from flames. He proclaimed a private citizen, named Attalus, emperor, and caused him to pay homage to himself. Alarich proceeded to the southward, made an easy conquest of Campania, and traversed Calabria to the vicinity of the Straits

It is said that he meditated the reduction of Sicily and Africa, where Gildo had rebelled against the imperial sovereignty; but while he was engaged in such undertakings, death overtook him, at Cosenza, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. The whole nation of the Visigoths mourned his loss with sincere lamentations; they turned aside the course of the river which flows through the place, buried their chief with the memorials of his victory, and then gave to the stream its wonted channel, that Roman cupidity might not envy and disturb the great Alarich in the grave, where he rested from his deeds of glory.

The Goths elected in the place of Alarich his kinsman Adolphus, the most illustrious of their nobles, who returned with his army to the Tiber. Thence the conquerors carried away the most costly ornaments of the public edifices, having destroyed many splendid monuments of the pride of ancient Rome, and defaced the finest productions of the arts. The emperor was obliged to give his sister in marriage to Adolphus, who, after having chastised Italy, directed his march to Gaul. Gauls, Barbarians, and Romans, yielded to this formidable host. The Visigoths occupied the whole country between the Rhone and the Loire and the feet of the Pyrenees; they took possession of the mountains, and passing over them forced the Vandals in Spain to content themselves with the country on the Bætis, and the Allemanni to seek refuge in Gallicia, and the hilly regions of Portugal: thus the Visigoths founded the kingdom of Spain. The policy of Stilicho or the factions which caballed against his counsels, the weakness of the emperor and the decline of military tactics, deprived Rome of the province which the Scipios had added to her dominion. The Spaniards had not forgotten their ancient valor, but they cared little to defend the sovereignty of the effeminate Romans against barbarians, whose manners were in many respects congenial to their own.

About the same time the Scoti passed over from Ireland into Caledonia, where a part of their nation had dwelt from remote times, and grievously oppressed Britain; Warmund or Pharamond at the head of the Franks made a settlement in the Netherlands; and Gundichar or Guntherus, prince

of the Burgundians, took possession of the country on the Upper Rhine, and held his court at Worms. By degrees the Heruli and Rugians came down through Silesia and Moravia into Noricum, or Austria, while the Lombards seized Pannonia, now Hungary, and a part of Lower Austria, and the Ostrogoths gained possession of many towns in Thrace. Maximus and Jovinus rebelled in the heart of the empire, and Heraclianus, præfect of Africa, detained the supplies of corn which were destined for Rome. In this calamitous time Honorius left the throne to his nephew Valentinian the Third, a boy of five years of age.

SECTION IX.

THE AGE OF VALENTINIAN THE THIRD.

A. D. 424—455. Scarcely had the aid of Theodosius, the eastern emperor, secured the minor in the possession of his tottering throne, when Africa was lost by an act of treachery. Galla Placidia, the mother of the emperor, administered the government with prudence and reputation; but Boniface, the count of Africa, was unjustly accused of treacherous designs. Aëtius was an experienced warrior, but in pursuing the objects of his ambition, careless of right and wrong, who had lately attempted by the aid of the Huns to seat an usurper on the throne. Aëtius wrote to Boniface in the following terms: "that evil-minded persons, envious of his merit, had basely accused him to the princess, who had the weakness of a woman; that his friends in vain employed their eloquence in defending his character and conduct; that his recall and death were finally resolved upon, and that Aëtius, bound by the ties of ancient friendship, had not failed to give him warning." He afterwards went to the mother of the emperor, and informed her that "his inquiries had discovered a great calamity which threatened to befall Africa; that Boniface was dangerous to the empire; for, if he revolted, the supplies of provisions would be withheld from the city; that this misfortune was likely to happen; and that the

only way to prevent the danger was to recall the general before his plans were brought to maturity." Placidia followed this counsel, and Boniface, hereby assured that the information sent by Aëtius was correct, disobeyed the summons. The imperial court was accordingly persuaded that Aëtius had not accused the governor of Africa unjustly, and it was resolved to prosecute him by arms. Boniface in his extremity applied to Genserich and Gonthakar, sons of Modogisel, prince of the Vandals in Andalusia, and promised, on condition of receiving succor from them, to yield into their possession the fertile country on the coast of Africa. Genserich was young, enterprising, but insensible to every motive that was not favorable to his designs; he was a great master of dissimulation, and more temperate than is usual with barbarians. He immediately sailed across the straits. His march was not like that of Alarich; terror preceded his footsteps; he laid waste the whole country with fire and sword. A. D. 427. The fatal error was now discovered which had occasioned these calamities; Boniface took arms for the protection of the country; he received reinforcements from the emperor of the east, but Genserich, whose brother had fallen in the meantime, defeated Boniface and Aspar the general of Theodosius, and finally reduced Carthage, the metropolis of Africa. He suffered all the nobles to be put to death, the city to be plundered, and men and women to be put to the torture, in order to force them to the discovery of hidden treasures. A. D. 439. The same tyrant and his son Hunnerich or Henry renewed the persecution of the Christians who professed the Nicene faith; many were burnt: many had their tongues torn out, while others suffered a long and painful martyrdom. Genserich became more and more suspicious, with his increasing years; his son had married a princess of the Visigoths, whom her father-in-law accused in his imagination of a design to poison him, that she might become queen of the Vandals; he accordingly ordered her ears and nose to be cut off, and sent her back into her country. Apprehensive that the Visigoths would take vengeance for this outrage, and dreading moreover that the Romans might unite their arms

against the Vandal power, Genserich despatched messengers into Hungary to Attila king of the Huns.

In the country between the Danube and the Theiss, in a great village surrounded by palisadoes, in the midst of a spacious court, stood a wooden building, environed by many avenues; this was the dwelling of Attila, or Etsel, king of the Huns. Attila was of small stature; he had a large head, unproportioned to his body, and small and deep seated eyes, which he turned around him with looks of ferocious pride; his manners and gesture bespoke the imperious ruler, and his most favorite appellation was *Godegisel*, "the scourge of God, for the castigation of the world." Yet when he had forgiven an enemy, Attila thought no more of his past offences, and whoever submitted to his authority was sure of being treated with gentleness. He was inclined to benevolence, and mirth abounded at his table; but Attila alone never laid aside the dignified gravity of his demeanor. All the tribes of Huns, and the conquered nations which were dispersed from the Volga to Hungary, reverenced his commands; he was supreme sovereign of the Gepidi, the Lombards, the Avares, the Ostrogoths, and many other tribes, in southern Germany; and the imperial Theodosius paid him tribute. He marched at the head of 700,000 men; his subjects were all hunters, or warlike nomades; each nation was commanded by its own prince, but Attila was at the head of all; all the chiefs trembled in his presence; the army had but one soul, and the nod of their supreme ruler decided every movement. Such was the chieftain whom Genserich invited to invade the west, in order to employ those whose union he most dreaded.

Attila, who knew the nature of the western countries, resolved on the undertaking, and endeavored to ensure the event by stratagem; with this design, he wrote to Toulouse, the capital of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, begging that prince to "call to mind, how often the Romans had shown treachery towards his nation; that had the Visigoths been a less valiant people, they would long ago have been extirpated; since the Romans considered themselves, from ancient times, the lawful rulers of the world, and

never would suffer it to obtain peace and tranquillity until their empire was overturned; that this might be best effected by a friendly understanding among its enemies, combined in a compact, for dismembering and sharing its provinces." At the same time, he wrote to the Roman emperor to inform him, that "the Huns from remote times had ever been good friends and faithful allies of the Romans; that it could not be discovered that they had ever waged war against each other; that himself was inspired with similar sentiments, and having now leisure, was disposed to give the emperor a great proof of his friendship, if the latter would unite his arms with those of the Huns, in order to drive the Visigoths out of Gaul and Spain, and restore in those countries the ancient boundaries of the empire."

The imperial court discovered the craft of Attila, and the emperor wrote to all the barbarian chieftains in the west, inviting them to unite their forces with the Romans against the common danger which menaced them. He addressed the Visigoth in these terms: "Be vigilant, brave chief of the Visigoths; the king of the Huns is resolved to subject all things to his sway; every crime which is in his power he will perpetrate; in order to satiate the burning thirst of his ambition he allows himself every excess; justice is his sport; he is the enemy of the human race; resist him, noble chief of the Visigoths; the finest province of the empire has been given to you; fight for us and for yourself." Theodoric the Visigoth thus replied: "Never has a just war appeared too hard for a king of the Visigoths; never has he known terror, when glorious exploits were to be achieved; all the great men of my kingdom have but one mind with me, and the whole people of the Visigoths joyfully grasp their ever victorious arms." Valentinian also roused the Burgundians: by a treaty which Aëtius had concluded with them in his earlier years, Rome had abandoned to them all that country called Upper and Lower Burgundy to the present day, together with the district which has since received the name of Dauphiny, the whole of Savoy, and the western side of Swisserland; they were bound in return to assist the Romans in their

wars. The emperor also summoned king Sangipan, leader of the Alani, who governed the country on the Loire; he sent messengers to the allied towns of Armorica, to the commonwealth of Paris, to the Ripuarian Franks, who dwelt between the Rhine and Maese, and to their brethren who under the Salic name obeyed the commands of Mervey;* he warned the Saxons, beyond the Rhine, of the dangers which menaced all the west; Thuringia was already in part tributary to Attila. All rushed to arms, the Burgundian, Sangipan, the Alani, Mervey, the Franks, Armorica, the Parisians, and the Saxons who inhabited Westphalia, raised the warlike standard with one accord.

Attila, who had already caused his brother Blet to be murdered, that the latter might not excite disturbances at home during his absence in his campaigns, broke up from the banks of the Theiss, traversed Austria and Stiria, passed the Rhætian frontiers to Allimannia, crossed the Rhine at Basil, and routed the king of the Burgundians, who waited for him at the passes; he passed over the ridge of the Wasgauerberg, overcame every obstacle, and appeared on the Marne, in the plains of Croisette, near Chalons.

In the extensive plains through which the Marne takes its course, a hill rises of moderate elevation: here it was that the armies of the western nations encountered the forces of the Huns. Aëtius led the left wing, Theodoric the right; in the midst stood king Sangipan, on whom less reliance was placed. On the other side the hordes of Huns seemed immeasurable; Harderich king of the Gepidi led one wing; Theudmir, Dietrich, Valamir, chiefs of the Ostrogoths, commanded the other. A multitude of lesser kings waited, like the lowest vassal, on the nod of Attila, and anxiously received his orders; he alone, the king of kings, thought for all. When the battle was about to commence, he sent for his lieutenants, and said, "No common incentive to valor does it become me to suggest, or you to hear; behave like men; assault the enemy, break into his ranks, and level every thing before you; they are forming their troops in array; it is the signal for you to attack them;

* Or Merovius.

rush upon the Alani and the Visigoths, for in them consists the chief strength of the enemy. If your destined hour is come, you must perish, although you should betake yourselves to a shameful flight. Fix your eyes upon me. I rush forwards, and he who does not follow me instantly dies!" Both armies made an effort to possess themselves of the hill, and a furious contest arose, in which Theodoric, while he was exhorting the Visigoths to exert themselves to the utmost, fell by a mortal wound; the carnage on both sides was prodigious. At the approach of night Attila found himself under the necessity of retreating, and not knowing whether he should be pursued, he ordered the saddles of many thousands of horses to be heaped up, in order that, if it were needful, he might set fire to them, and perish in the flames. At the same time, in order to terrify the enemy, he commanded the Huns to make a most frightful noise, through the night, with their arms, and with horns, trumpets, and clamorous songs. The Visigoths burned with impatience to rush upon them and avenge their king; but the crafty Aëtius thought it more prudent to suffer the Huns to retire, that it might still be possible to make use of them against his present allies. He seems also to have been afraid of obscuring the glory of the victory he had achieved by a defeat, and was probably glad to protract the war, that he might prolong the term of his command. He therefore counselled Thorismund, the son of Theodoric, to march homewards, lest some usurper should seat himself upon his father's throne. Attila returned into his country, the maintenance of so vast an army being impossible for a longer time.

Soon afterwards, eager to revenge this defeat, or in consequence of the secret invitation of a sister of the emperor, who wished to become his queen, Attila set out to invade Italy. In vain did Aquileia oppose to him the resistance which had so often arrested the progress of barbarous invaders; the city was levelled to the ground, all its male inhabitants who were able to bear arms were put to the sword, and the women and children sold into slavery. The Huns afterwards plundered and defaced, without entirely destroying, the ancient and flourishing cities of Concordia, Montefelice, Vicenza, Verona, Bergamo, Brescia, Milan, and

Pavia. Attila descended to Ravenna, and entered it through an opening in its walls, which the people themselves had been obliged to make, in order to show their submission to his will. Here he was met by Leo, the Roman pontiff, the eloquent and venerable teacher of the Christian church; the great men of Rome accompanied the priest, and brought presents to conciliate the ferocious Hun. A tradition prevailed that the chief of the apostles held Rome under his especial protection; Alarich had experienced the truth of this rumor, who, after treating that city with indignity, suffered a speedy death. The wrath of Attila was assuaged, and he retired from Italy loaded with the plunder of a hundred unfortunate cities.

He afterwards threatened the eastern empire, and continued to inspire terror in the west, which was so much the more appalling, as the power of the Visigoths was weakened by internal dissensions. But at length, having espoused the beautiful Hildichunde, in addition to a multitude of wives, he perished in the night of his marriage; intoxicated, as it is generally related, and slain in a drunken fray; according to Agnellus, he fell a sacrifice to female craft. He was interred after the manner of the ancient Tanshu, and the Huns gashed their faces with wounds, and cut off their hair, in honor of their king. His body was exhibited under a silken pavilion, in the midst of a wide plain, and the horsemen of the barbarians rode round it, and celebrated his exploits in funereal hymns; the whole nation of the Huns chanted songs of praise to his memory, and exalted the good fortune of the great Attila, who, after immortal victories, and while his people were at the summit of human glory, had finished his career without pain, and in the arms of pleasure, and had ascended to take his place among the spirits of the ancient heroes. His son Ellak then entertained the people at a sumptuous banquet. In the night the body of Attila was placed in a golden coffin, and the latter enclosed in one of silver; for Rome and Constantinople had given him silver and gold; the whole was then shut up in a chest of iron, because he had ruled all nations with an iron sceptre. The trappings of his horse, his arms, and costly insignia, were buried with him, and all the men who labored at his

grave were put to death, that no mortal might disclose where the warrior of the Huns reposed.

When the terror of his name no longer kept the subject nations in union, they separated, and many of them refused the accustomed tribute. His first-born, Ellak, Attila's favorite son, a valiant chief, fell in a great battle against the rebels. The Huns were more able to lay waste the earth than to establish a permanent constitution founded on the principles of government; and their mighty power vanished with Attila.

SECTION X.

DESTRUCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

Scarcely had the empire rested from this calamity, when Aëtius was falsely accused before the emperor, as he had before calumniated Boniface, and Valentinian was persuaded to destroy the general on whom alone his safety depended. A. D. 455. The guard, whose prefect Aëtius had been, and who loved and revered him, were excessively enraged at this proceeding; and Valentinian, who had before rendered himself contemptible by his sensuality and superstition, was now hated for his ingratitude. It happened accordingly, that as he ventured to expose himself among the soldiery a short time afterwards, attended by a single eunuch, he was slain by an unobserved hand.

Maximus, the assassin, whose wife the emperor had violated, and who, in order to obtain a more secure revenge, had incited him to destroy Aëtius, was now elevated to the throne; and persuaded Eudocia, the widow of the deceased monarch, to receive him as her husband. Once intoxicated by wine, Maximus happened to disclose the secret of his participation in the murder of Valentinian, who had been the beloved consort of her youth. She concealed her indignation, and wrote secretly to the king of the Vandals to entreat his aid. "The emperor," said Eudocia, "who yielded to Genserich, during so many years, the quiet possession of Africa, might claim as a debt of gratitude that he should turn his arms to take vengeance on the base assassin, and release

from captivity the widow of Valentinian." When the tidings of the speedy arrival of Genserich were spread abroad in Rome, all the principal citizens and senators took flight into the Sabine and Tusculan mountains. The barbarian entered the city, plundered and laid it waste according to his manner, and was with difficulty induced by the intreaties of Eudocia to spare it from the flames. Maximus had already fallen a victim to the rage of the populace. Fourteen days the Vandals remained in the imperial city; the flower of the Roman youth, all the artificers and mechanics, together with the empress and her two daughters, were carried away to Africa. These rapacious robbers overwhelmed Campania; the fertile and luxuriant coasts, adorned by Scipio, Lucullus, Cicero, and Pliny, with gardens and splendid villas, were laid waste with fire and sword; Capua, to whose pleasures even Hannibal had yielded, was burnt to the ground by these more barbarous Carthaginians; and Nola, the beloved retreat of Augustus Cæsar, was destroyed. Here Paulinus, the bishop of the town, came to offer for the ransom of the captives all the treasures of the church and the private wealth of himself and his friends; witnessing the despair of a widow, whose only son had been dragged away in chains, he offered to substitute himself and redeem the youth from slavery. All who were in the age of vigorous manhood and fell not by the sword, were taken captive and carried to Carthage.

A. D. 456. After this calamity the virtuous Avitus, in Gaul, a man of ancient family and of enlightened mind for the times in which he lived, was with difficulty persuaded to accept the imperial crown. He soon laid it down, and the Romans elevated to the throne Majorian, a brave warrior, well calculated to defend Italy against its perils. A. D. 457. The Alani threatened it with an invasion, and the new emperor immediately marched to encounter them, but was murdered by his own people. He was succeeded by Severus. A. D. 461.

The Alani, a wild mountain horde from the chain of Caucasus, who had accompanied the Goths and Huns when they inundated Europe, and who found themselves hardly pressed by the Franks and Visigoths in the territo-

ries which they had for some time occupied upon the Loire, now traversed the Alps and appeared before Bergamo. Here Richimer, the imperial general, had the good fortune or the talents which enabled him to defeat them; and he took advantage of the glory thus required in order to revolt from his sovereign and raise his father-in-law Anthemius to the imperial throne.

A. D. 467. While the victorious general endeavored to govern under the name of his relative, and Anthemius resisted the attempt, faction threw all things into confusion; the Franks in Gaul, and the Allemanni in the second Germany, made, in the mean time, irresistible encroachments. At length Richimer, not far from Rome, gave battle to the emperor, and, flushed with victory, plundered the city and slew Anthemius; famine and pestilence were the consequences of this devastation. The conqueror survived three months.

Olybrius, husband of a daughter of Valentinian, and favored by Leo, emperor of the East, governed Rome seven months. A. D. 473. After his death, the Romans raised Glycerius, a nobleman of the court, to the highest honor; (A. D. 474). but the Byzantine monarch, in order to maintain his influence, gave his niece to Julius Nepos, and undertook to seat him on the western throne. Glycerius preferred peace, and entered into the ecclesiastical order, in which he obtained the bishopric of Porto.

The barbarians threatened Italy more and more on the northern frontier, and Orestes was sent with an army to secure the passes of the Alps. The general took advantage of the power intrusted to him in order to throw off his allegiance and raise his own son, the young Romulus Momyllus, to the throne. A. D. 475.

The Ostrogoths made incursions to the very gates of Rome; Spain and Gaul were already lost; and Hengist, with his Anglo-Saxons, secured to himself the possession of Britain. About the same time, Odoacher, prince of the Heruli, set out from the banks of the Danube and marched from Austria into Italy. Pomerania was the native seat of the Heruli, whence they gradually moved southward, together with the Rugians, the Skirri, and the Turtzlingians, who clothed themselves with hides, and arrived in Panno-

nia, in the neighborhood of Vienna; whence they now advanced through Noricum into Italy. Many of their countrymen served in the imperial guard. In Pavia, they besieged Orestes, the father of the emperor; and having taken the town, cut off his head. Terror preceded their march, and all the cities immediately surrendered to them. The tender age of the young emperor, who laid aside the diadem, the purple, and his arms, and came as a suppliant to the camp of Odoacher, excited pity in the barbarian. Romulus was sent to Campania, and obtained an asylum in the ancient castle of Lucullus. In the 1229th year from the building of Rome, in the 515th from the battle of Philippi, in which the freedom of the republic perished with Marcus Brutus, in the 476th year of the Christian computation, the empire of Rome terminated in the person of Romulus Momyllus, and fell by the arms of a barbarous horde from Rugen and Pomerania.

SECTION XI.

CONCLUSION.

We have traced, with a lively interest, the laborious beginnings and rising efforts of Rome; we beheld with admiration the victories of her age of freedom; her corruption excited our abhorrence, and the end of her career is contemplated with regret.

From this period the chief power in the west was waged by the arms of the northern hordes. During the course of some centuries, one nation after another came forth from the night of obscurity in which their history and their existence had lain concealed. They had, with the exception of the papacy, no point of union, but lived wild and free, until after a thousand years of war and treachery, the proud descendants of the old warriors began to respect the authority of laws; but under such circumstances, that universal power never again fell to the lot of a single chief. Great critical changes in the commonwealth of nations, founded in Europe on the general principles of popular rights, religion and hu-

manity, have gradually developed the political circumstances of the present century, the theatre of which is more extensive, and the interests more complicated, than those of any former time; in which it was only required that the Czar should infuse animation into his immense empire, in order to establish a balance of power between the other potentates, and in which Great Britain has erected an unheard of dominion on the waves of the ocean. In this age, war, politics, religion, morals, and sciences, have undergone the most important revolutions: and, in a country whose existence was unknown three centuries ago, a new theatre of free governments has been opened; whence a wonderful excitement has pervaded almost the whole human race, giving us reason to expect future eras of a character far different from the past.

So much the greater necessity is there to examine the foundations on which all our constitutions and authorities were originally formed; wherein was the secret of their strength and the germ of their decay. But the task of the historian is wearisome and gloomy from the period of the destruction of Roman liberty: for as soon as the supreme power became the hereditary possession of a single despot, the first causes of all events were concealed in the obscurity of cabinets; and where favor was the only road to fortune, annalists have sacrificed the public to personal interest: it is only in the history of a few nations and governments that we can trace the plan and connection of events. We have indeed an object of admiration in the vast colossus of the hierarchy, erected by two hundred popes under the favor of circumstances, before the feet of which all Europe trembled and whose head was concealed in the heavens from the scrutiny of irreverent eyes; we observe with interest the constancy and vigilance with which Venice preserved, for so many ages, her independence and a constitution that could scarcely be found tolerable to the majority of her people; we contemplate with delight the heroism and the long wars of the ancient Swiss; the pertinacity with which the Hollanders maintained their country against the sea, and their rights against Philip the Second; and the events by which, in the bed of anarchy and fanaticism, a constitution

has been developed in England, perhaps too artificial to be long preserved in purity;—but can we remark without indignation how the horrors of the inquisition enslave nations of noble character; how others are the sport of the caprices of their neighbors; or witness elsewhere, without execration, the omnipotence of chains and fetters, of the rod and the knoot? In the end we may observe that what military discipline was to the Romans, what fanatical zeal was to the Arabs; such, in the modern commonwealth of Europe, is the balance of power among different states: this is what we have to consider: it depends upon situation, laws, revenues, arms and principles of government; and upon national character, among those nations who possess it.

BOOK XI.

SETTLEMENT OF THE BARBAROUS NATIONS ON THE RUINS OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE. A. D. 476—615.

SECTION I.

THE OSTROGOTHS IN ITALY.

Since the death of Attila, the Ostrogoths, under their princes of the house of Amali, had gradually re-established their ancient independence. They now inhabited the country between the Danube and the Save. They received a tribute from the emperors of the East, and in return gave them hostages for the maintenance of peace. Of this nation was the young Theodoric, son of Theudmir, whom Ehrenlieb, his concubine, had borne to the Gothic chieftain, on the Ferto, in Hungary. At Constantinople Theodoric derived the same advantage, from the remains of the old Roman institutions, which Philip of Macedon had drawn

from the lessons of the conqueror of Leuctra. His father had been a successful warrior, and by victories over the Allemanni, had extended his dominion to the feet of the Alps. A. D. 484. When Theodoric, in his eighteenth year, returned to his country, at the head of six thousand warriors, devoted to his cause, he attacked, without the knowledge of his father, and defeated the armies of a Sarmatian king. The Goths, assuming new courage, demanded to be led into regions where they might dwell with greater freedom, and obtain the reward of arms. Theudmir accordingly passed the boundaries of Illyrium, spread his troops over Macedonia, and conquered Larissa, the paternal town of Achilles. He obliged the imperial court to make considerable additions to those tributary recompenses with which it was accustomed annually to reward the valor of the Gothic youth. Theudmir on his death-bed declared Theodoric to be the most worthy, who accordingly was chosen to be his successor.

The emperor Zeno, a monarch of very moderate endowments, spared nothing in order to conciliate the young prince: he bestowed upon him the consular dignity in the same year when he himself bore it; he permitted him to triumph, and erected to him an equestrian statue. But the gifts of the emperor not being sufficient to satisfy the wants, and still less the wishes of the Ostrogoths, who were now rising into national greatness; and their land, on which they could not be induced to bestow a laborious cultivation, neither affording them sufficient bread, nor pastures so extensive as their herds required; Zeno at length came to the resolution of formally surrendering Italy to Theodoric, by a pragmatic sanction, after recommending to his patronage the Roman senate, which now groaned under the sway of the Heruli.

A. D. 490. Immediately the Ostrogoths, under the guidance of their chief, now in his twenty-fourth year, set out with all their herds, and the whole of their property, from the Danube and the Save, and approached the confines of Italy. On the Lisorzo, which flows through fertile plains included in the modern Goritz, they were opposed by their first enemy. Theodoric twice defeated the Italian

armies, who fought without zeal for their king, Odoacher; he entered the Venetian country, and the prince of the Heruli fled to Rome. This city, in the fifteenth year after the subversion of its empire, shut its gates against Odoacher, who took refuge in Ravenna. The territory which borders on the southern feet of the Alps, revolted from his sway. Having shut himself up in Ravenna, a place strong by nature, from the morasses which surrounded it, and at that time fortified by art, Odoacher, at the head of twenty thousand armed men, held out to the third year. After the fortress had surrendered, and the king had suffered death, Theodoric laid aside the national dress of the Goths, and adorned himself with the Roman purple. A. D. 493.

The senate and people of Rome received him with respect. He re-established the court, the salaries, and the distributions of bread as they had been conducted under the emperors. Humanity, temperance, and prudence elevated Theodoric above all other barbarian kings. Although he himself adhered to the Arian creed, he in no instance oppressed the church which maintained the Nicene faith; on the contrary he treated its dignitaries with reverence, confidence, and favor; but it was kept in subjection to him, and his will decided all contested elections. The Pope Johannes, who in an embassy had acted contrary to his instructions, was suffered on that account to die in prison.

By family alliances he became the relative and friend, by his power and wisdom the protector of all the kings of the west. His consort Odeflede was the daughter of Childebert king of the Franks, and a sister of that Clovis to whom the establishment of the French monarchy is chiefly to be ascribed. He gave his own sister to Hunnerich, son of Genserich, king of the Vandals; Amalberge, his niece, to the king of Thuringia; and his own daughters to Sigismund, king of Burgundy, and to Alarich the Second, king of the Visigoths. He had an army always ready for maintaining public tranquillity and undertaking necessary enterprises. The former was his chief object; and on that account he wrote to the young kings,

with the authority of a father: "All of you have proofs of my regard for you. You are youthful warriors, and it is my office to give you counsel. Your disorderly proceedings occasion me vexation. It is not without concern that I observe you give yourselves up to the government of your passions." When Clovis had subdued the Allemanni, Theodoric wrote to him, recommending clemency. When inevitable wars broke out among the kings, and when his own power could be extended without injustice, he found means of obtaining his object without bloodshed; and he made himself master of Sicily, Rhætia, the Alps, and Geneva. The banks of the Po, which in the first years of his reign had been laid waste by the Burgundian king Gondebald, were by his command re-peopled with Allemanni, who sought a refuge under his gentle sway. Theodoric caused Pavia, where he often resided, as well as several other Italian cities, to be ornamented with magnificent architecture; and he was more proud of the arts and learning, which yet flourished in his kingdom, than of the power of his arms. This pride was displayed in his sending to Clovis a troop of musicians, and to Gondebald water-glasses, which marked the lapse of time, together with persons who knew how to manage them. His chancellor, the senator Cassiodorus, was the most learned man of his age. Boethius, one of the last Roman authors, who wrote with elegance, was sent by Theodoric to the king of the Burgundians, and commended with the following remark: "Your people will no longer compare themselves with us when they learn that such men dwell among us." Theodoric himself was unable to write.

At the approach of his death he assembled his counts and other nobles around him, and recommended to them Amalaswinde, his daughter, and her son Athalarich, then ten years old. He advised them to pay regard to public order; to treat the senate and people of Rome with kindness; and to maintain peace with the emperor of Constantinople. A. D. 526.

Dissensions however were soon excited between the son and his mother, by the intrigues of ambitious nobles; and the queen sought in vain for a new resource in associating

her nephew Theudat in the regency. This prince was so blinded by the lust of power, that he became equally neglectful of gratitude and of his own interest, and Athalarich having perished by disease, he put to death Amalaswinde. A. D. 534.

About the same time a similar crime had involved Gelimir, the king of the Vandals, in a war against Justinian, who ruled the empire of the east with an energy to which it had long been unused. The queen, who had been assassinated, had favored the emperor, by suffering provisions to be conveyed from the island of Sicily to his relief. The general, Belisarius, in whom the most splendid military virtues were displayed, defeated the Vandals; and having forced Gelimir to surrender himself, brought him in triumph a prisoner to Constantinople, together with all the treasures amassed by Genserich, and obliged all Africa to submit to the imperial yoke.

The instability of the barbarian kingdoms was elsewhere manifested by events: the sons of Clovis, in the course of a few years, made themselves masters of the territories of Thuringia and Burgundy.

A. D. 535. It was at this period that the crime of Theudat incited Justinian, by the aid of Belisarius, to revenge on the nation of the Ostrogoths the calamities of the house of Theodoric, which had been recommended to his protection. Sicily was speedily conquered, the chieftains and the troops abandoning, either by choice or the necessity of arms, the cause of the falling king. The nation, accustomed to the splendor of victory, drove him with indignation from the throne; he was put to death, and Witig, a valiant warrior, was placed upon the chair of the Amali. A. D. 536. The latter, in order to confirm his authority, persuaded Mathaswinde, daughter of Amalaswinde, to become his consort. His intention was disappointed; for Belisarius was unwilling that the Ostrogoths should choose a king at their own discretion, and without the consent of the emperor, as their territory was originally Roman. This general had lately taken Neapolis by stratagem, after it had resisted, with great constancy, a long siege; and in order to infuse terror into others, he caused all the inhabitants to be put to death,

without regard to age, sex, or rank. Rome was now abandoned by the Goths, and its fortifications were strengthened by Belisarius. A part of the wall which was built by this general is yet standing. He afterwards conquered Tuscany, and gained a victory over the Goths near Perusia. Witig, in despair, resolved to arm all the men who were able to fight in his cause (A. D. 538.); and he led against Milan, and the neighboring towns, an army of ten thousand volunteers from Burgundy, which was already in the possession of the Franks. Milan, perhaps out of preference for the faith of the Nicene council, had declared for the cause of the Byzantine emperor; it withstood the Gothic king with a resolution which could scarcely be weakened by the pressure of a famine so severe, that its defenders were reduced to feed on human flesh. The Burgundians became masters of it, and massacred its inhabitants, without even sparing infants at the breast, or priests who sought refuge in the sanctity of the altar: according to their own historians they put to death three hundred thousand men. At the same time Witig lay fourteen months before Rome, which lost all its splendor, and its ancient inhabitants, chiefly in these wars. Belisarius raised the siege; he even conquered Ravenna itself, and brought Witig a captive to Constantinople. A. D. 539.

The victories of the imperial arms excited the jealousy of the Franks, and a war ensued which had the same termination as most of the former enterprises of the Franks in Italy. They over-ran the country, and, weakened by intemperance, afforded their enemies opportunities of cutting them off. The Ostrogoths resisted with a heroism which they inherited from the great Theodoric; and after Euthar and Hildebald had been elected to the throne, and deposed, on various pretexts, Totila showed himself worthy to renew the work of his illustrious predecessor. A. D. 540. He gained many victories, and destroyed the walls of the towns, having experienced in sieges the effect of superior skill in the military art. A. D. 541. He had the good fortune to make himself master of Rome in the presence of Belisarius, who had returned from quelling an insurrection in Africa, but found his army weakened and dispirited; and

he resolved upon the destruction of its fortifications, that he might not be obliged to employ the flower of his army in its defence. A. D. 546. The people were driven out; those senators who had not obtained safety in flight, were carried away captives; and the immeasurable circuit of the Roman walls almost leveled with the ground. Totila soon afterwards defeated the reinforcements which Belisarius expected from Calabria.

Being now, as he believed, secure lord of Italy, Totila renewed the gentle administration of Theodoric; he repeopled Rome, and lived like a father among the inhabitants of the reviving city. The restoration of Neapolis was effected by Belisarius, in consequence of the persuasion of the Pope Sylverius: those who still dwelt in the ruins of Cumæ, and the inhabitants of the small Liboric towns, Puteoli, Stabia, Sarrentum, of Calabria and Apulia, with captives from Africa and Sicily, resorted to Neapolis, again rising from its ruins. The intrigues of the court occasioned the recall of Belisarius, who was always worthy of his fame, but whose exertions were ill supported; and the prosecution of the war, which was not wholly abandoned, was confided to the eunuch Narses. Yet one more important service was rendered by Belisarius to his country, after a seclusion of many years, in the defence of the imperial city itself against a Slavonian horde which had invaded Thrace. Though benevolent and unsuspicious, he was not the more secure against envy; and for his final triumph over the calumny of his accusers, he was indebted not to his virtues, but to the influence of his unworthy spouse.

Narses, now proconsul, with his Lombard allies, proceeded into Italy: and that superiority which could not fail to manifest itself on the side of a Roman army of sufficient number, under an able commander, gave him a victory, of which the death of Totila alone secured to him the fruits. A. D. 552.

The Gothic nobles in Pavia elevated Teja to the throne: but their efforts were vain; and at Nocera, the last strength of the Ostrogoths fell with their prince, under the arms of Narses. A. D. 553.

The Allemanni, who were subject to the Frankish king of Austrasia, also attempted, under Lanthacar and Buzelin, to snatch Italy from the grasp of the emperor. Their enterprise began gloriously; but had the usual termination of such efforts, in famine, pestilence, and total defeat.

SECTION II.

THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY.

Narses governed Italy under the Byzantine emperor; and under his administration it enjoyed plenty, internal tranquillity, and undisturbed peace. A. D. 568. He quelled, without difficulty, the commotions which the Heruli excited in Tuscany. Rome again rose from her foundations; but the shadow of the old republic, the names of consuls and senators had passed away: the city remained without external power; but still great in fame, in the majestic aspect of its ruins, and the increasing multitude of its inhabitants. Narses at length incurred the disfavor of the emperor Justin II., whose conduct was not always governed by wise and moderate councils: he abandoned Rome, where he thought himself insecure; and from Neapolis sent letters to invite the Lombard king Albwin into Italy.

Albwin had not long before subdued the Gepidi, another tribe of the same kindred with his hereditary subjects; he had drunk out of the skull of their prince Kunimund, and had taken Rosamond, the daughter of his enemy, to his bed. He possessed a warlike spirit, which gained him the hearts of the barbarians; and his praises were celebrated in the songs not only of his own people but of the Saxons and Bavarians, for centuries after his death.

A. D. 568. Forty-two years had elapsed since the Lombards, under his father Audwin, had conquered those tracts in Pannonia which the Ostrogoths formerly occupied, and three years since the wars of the Gepidi; when, on the 2d of April, king Albwin, at the invitation of Narses, broke up, with all the men, women and children of the Lombards, and

set out from Pannonia, with 20,000 Saxons in his train. It was on a beautiful morning of the spring that the astonished multitude, from the heights of a projecting arm of the Alps, threw their delighted eyes on the extensive and luxuriant plains of their new country. Wherever Albwin advanced he paid veneration to the church, and sought to gain the love of his subjects. Multiplied misfortunes weakened the power of Justin; while tribes of Sarmatians, Allemanni, people from Noricum, and even Bulgarians, strengthened the armies of the conqueror. The possession of Pavia gave him at length a decisive preponderance in Italy. He stationed his nobles, Gisulf his marshal, and Zotto, over Friul and Benevento, as dukes, to guard the boundaries of his new domains.

To the Romans of Constantinople (for still, after nine centuries, they preserved this name), Ravenna, the Gothic capital, still remained, together with the city of Pentapolis, Rome, and some other towns near the seacoast. Over these possessions a proconsul, or exarch, was appointed to preside.

It was fortunate for the Lombards that their valor was thus kept in exercise; for anarchy would otherwise have soon undermined the foundations of their power. After a few years, Rosamond made the revenge of her father's death an excuse for an intrigue; and the murder of Albwin made room for Kleph (A. D. 573.), a more severe master, who paid with his life for the throne which he had just ascended. The nobles, during the minority of his son, kept the government in their own hands, and conducted it by means of a common council. A. D. 575.

The Lombard kingdom of Italy was as well secured on the north-east; in which quarter this nation had given up their seats in Pannonia to the Avari; as the unstable character of predatory hordes, who too well recalled the remembrance of the Huns, would permit. In Noricum, the Bavarians, who since their arrival in that country had given name to the greater part of it, maintained a league of amity with the Lombards. Authar, the son of Kleph, and Agilulf, his successor, espoused, one after the other, the Bavarian princess Theudelind, whose rare endowments were long re-

vered by her people. The Franks were by far the most formidable enemies of the Lombard power: and it was only by the flattering distinctions and presents which they lavished on this nation that the emperors contrived to preserve their friendship, and with it the existence of the exarchate in Italy. Hence it has happened that this country has remained to the present day without a common government.

The Venetian territory extended from Pannonia to the Adda: the islands of the Lagunes began to have inhabitants; yet Aquileia continued to be called the capital, and Friul was the seat of the governor. Nearly all Lombardy was included under the name of Liguria; it was separated from the country of the Allemanni by both the Rhætias. The first Alps, which rise from the Varo and run towards Savonna, were named the Cottish mountains. A particular province was distinguished by the name of the Apennine, which divided Tuscany from Æmilia. Tuscany reckoned Rome among its cities, while Piacenza, Parma, Imola, Bologna, adorned the Æmilian province. To the southward, in Umbria, from the time of Ferwald, a Lombard duke held his residence in Spoleto. The country from Rome to the confines of Calabria was included in Campania, a district important on account of the strength of its mountainous recesses, and the fertility of the beautiful territory which surrounded its four cities of Naples, Salerno, Benevento, and Capua. Capua and Salerno owed their restoration to Lombard dukes, and Benevento acquired from their munificence a splendor which it had never before seen. The impetuous Authar, king of the Lombards, penetrated through Lucania to the straits, and thrust his spear into a pillar on the shore to point out how far his dominion extended.

The dominions of the emperor lay chiefly on the coast of the Adriatic, and embraced Apulia, together with a part of Calabria. Here Otranto, and more especially Bari, rose to fame and magnificence, the opulence of the country depending on the fertility of the soil; and in the same vicinity was the residence of the Strategos or Catapan. In the ancient Samnium, the boundaries of the dominion of Constantinople and of Beneventum fluctuated with the fortunes or

courage of the parties, and the Picenum and the Valerian province, almost to the gates of Rome, were the objects of frequent wars: in the former it appears that the Lombards finally prevailed, while in the latter they continued unwillingly to divide their power with the Greeks. Ravenna, the seat of the exarch, was the capital of Flaminia.

The Lombard kings held their residence at Pavia, where Theodoric the Ostrogoth had caused a splendid palace to be erected at the confluence of the Ticino and the Po. Their dominion extended northwards as far as the pass of St. Gothard, and they defeated the Franks near the fortress of Bellinzona or Bilitio. The memorials of the Lombard kings are still preserved every where through the valley of Leventina, and the Devil's-bridge was probably their work. In the first years they penetrated over mount St. Bernard as far as the Leman lake. Towards Rhætia, the most frequented pass was at Splügen. The towns of the Lombards were rather built for strength than for beauty; but this nation destroyed none of the remains of better times.

The Lombards delighted in pasturage; yet under their hands the newly conquered land obtained so fine a cultivation that the dismal vestiges of former devastations were every day more and more obliterated. The king was supported by the revenue of his estates; he went round from time to time among his farms, and lived in the simplicity of the father of a family, with the dignity of a military chieftain. The free subjects, as among the old Romans, labored personally, with the assistance of their slaves, their freedmen, and aldions (who were perhaps hired servants), in the cultivation of the conquered lands. Agriculture flourished more especially around the monasteries in the vicinity of the wild Novalese, of Nonentula, Farfa, and particularly of Monte Cassino; their chronicles contain rather grateful than splendid annals of the victories which man gained over the sterility of nature, and of the gradual efforts which covered the ruins of ancient Italy with rich corn-fields and smiling pastures.

The king, with the concurrence of the nobles, proposed his laws to the general assembly of all the free Lombards. "His excellence," such is the preamble of this code—"His

excellence, Rothar, seventeenth king of the Lombards, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, having taken into his consideration that the commoner may want the protection of ordinances generally known, against the cupidity of the great officers, has, with the advice and consent of the chief judges, renewed the book of laws."

The land was divided into districts, each of which had its *amman* or head-man.* On all affairs relating to property the beadle † gave judgment; a count presided over several head-men and beadles, and over several counts a duke, all of whom were under the control of the king: the latter was chosen by the nation, or by persons to whom the election was confided. From this source contentions frequently arose: aspiring and crafty men, by means of presents, entertainments, and promises, often made their way to the supreme power, which on the other hand sometimes fell to the lot of those who were distinguished by popular virtues, by upright judgments, and courage in war. The kings, however, who had no independent resources of power, had always the nobles and the expectation of popular movements to keep them in check, for the arms of the nation could effect every thing.

The residence of the exarch was a splendid city, the seat of all that remained of arts and sciences. The fear of the Lombards restrained him from rendering himself independent: he remained for the most part on the defensive side, and was satisfied to enjoy his dignity and to enrich his relatives.

In Rome the emperors soon lost all their power. By participating in the theological disputes concerning the two natures, the double will and the impenetrable relations of Christ; and by entering with little knowledge of human nature into the contest concerning the use of images, which was carried on by both parties with superstition and fanaticism, they alienated the affections of their subjects; and by degrees the popes, many of whom were distinguished by great merits, became more respected in Rome than the emperors against whom they stood forwards as the protectors of liberty

* Viz. Herimannus or tribune. † Sculdais or schultheiss.

and of the faith. The pontificate of Gregory the Great, a true Christian bishop, "the chief servant of the servants of God," distinguished by the fervor of his devotion, the sanctity of his discourse, and the animation of his genius, had greater influence in exalting the power of the church, than that of Boniface the Third, who first began to exult in the title of Patriarch of the World.

SECTION III.

THE KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY.

The country which bordered on Lombardy, on the other side the Alps, had received the name of Burgundy. We have already seen both the Burgundies, and the land of the Allobroges, which included Savoy, Dauphiné, and Lyons, united with the western part of Switzerland, under the former denomination. The Burgundians had concluded a compact with the native people of the country, by which the latter agreed to surrender to them two thirds of their estates, the half of their forests, gardens, and houses, and a third of the whole number of their slaves. During fifty years every freedman obtained this allodium or lot, from his Burgundian lord; and all Burgundy was called the great allodium of the Burgundians. Estates of this description were hereditary; they were divided on the principles of equality. Pasture and agriculture were the business of freemen, while all mechanical employments, including arts, belonged on the old footing to the servile class. Thus the ancient manners of the people were long maintained in their primitive simplicity. The royal boor was whipped if he refused to any person the rights of hospitality; and a bondsman who had cut off the hair of a free woman forfeited his life. The law apportioned the reward of the soothsayer, who enabled the owner to discover stolen property.

On the other hand it was no longer allowed to make a composition for murder with a sum of money,* but revenge

* Chrenechruda lex deinceps nunquam valeat, quia per illam cecidit multorum potestas; Decret. Childeb.

of bloodshed was still permitted. Witnesses were allowed to maintain their testimony by the judicial combat, and the partisans of the worsted champion were condemned to no inconsiderable fines. Wives were purchased, and they might be dismissed in cases of adultery, the administering of poison, or witchcraft. The sentiment of personal dignity had not as yet developed itself among this people: a man who had stolen a dog was condemned to kiss its haunches in the presence of the multitude: yet there were already different ranks of society: the king's council, his domestics, his mayor and chancellor, his counts in the towns and in the country, and other officers of justice, belonged to the first order of nobles:* there was a middle rank,† an inferior class of freedmen,‡ and a still lower order, consisting of such as were born slaves.§ In the law of the Lombards there was this difference between the two last-mentioned classes; that the king's slaves were considered as equal to free-born persons, and his freedmen became entitled to the rank of nobles. There were no perquisites of justice, but the fief belonging to each office was its appropriate salary, and the royal viteschal or serjeant levied the amount of fines.

As the Burgundian law was one hundred and thirty years older than that of the Lombards, and was a relic of the imperfect civilization of countries but little accessible to us, I have not chosen to pass it over in silence, although it has already been treated of in another place.||

At their entrance into Gaul, the Burgundians had received instructions during seven days concerning the doctrines of the Christian faith, and on the eighth had caused themselves to be baptized.

Whether Gundechar, Gundioch, and the several chieftains who probably conducted the enterprises of different tribes before the departure of the Burgundians from their native seats, were princes, or merely leaders in time of war, we are as little able to determine as with respect to the commanders of other barbarous hordes. In either case their power was prolonged in its duration, in consequence

* Optimates Nobilium.
† Mediocres.
‡ Minores personæ: lidi. leudi.
§ Originarii.
|| Hist. of Switzerland. Vol. i. chap. 8.

of the general desire to maintain the conquests acquired; and it was increased in a very important manner by the addition of a patriciate, or permission to exercise imperial authority over the former inhabitants. This privilege was conceded by the eastern emperor, who judged it advisable to relinquish voluntarily what he was unable to maintain. Thus to the great influence which these chieftains already possessed as leaders of their hordes, was united the unlimited sway of the Roman despot. Whether they were originally generals or princes, they now became hereditary rulers in consequence of the preponderance that resulted from the greatness of their lot in the conquered land: for as there were no imposts it was necessary that the kings should be opulent. These beginnings of absolute and hereditary monarchy are as ancient as the migration of our forefathers from the forests of Germany into the Roman empire: and as the free companions of the conqueror became nobles, we may at once discover why the nobility so frequently and so long opposed the kings, and why the crafty founders of arbitrary power sought so diligently to confound this less obedient order with those who had to thank the monarch solely for their promotion to dignity and honor.

With this view Gondebald, the Burgundian king, had already begun to show favor to his more obedient Roman subjects, when the spiritual and temporal lords, and all the free Burgundian men assembled themselves at Geneva, and obliged their hitherto victorious monarch (A. D. 502.), in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, to abrogate the laws he had made, and to enact at Ambleu, with the advice and subscription of thirty-six principal barons, that code, of which we have given an abstract in the foregoing pages.

The same prince, in order securely to place the crown during his own life on the head of his son, whose talents were greatly inferior to his own, held a court at Quarre, not far from Geneva, in which Sigismund, according to the ancient custom, was elevated upon a shield, and declared king. A. D. 515. Anastasius, the Constantinopolitan emperor, conferred on him also the patriciate. Sigismund was so unfortunate as to sacrifice his son Siegreich, whom the daughter of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, had borne

him, to the calumnies of a second consort: and this crime entailed the destruction of the Burgundian kingdom. Theodoric, in order to revenge his grandson, sent his general, Tolonik, against Sigismund, and excited in the sons of Clovis the Frank, a determination to take that vengeance which their mother Chlotilda had long desired. Her own father, Hilfreich, had fallen by the cruelty of his brother Gondebald. The king, persecuted by the stings of conscience, or perhaps more inclined to the retirement of a cloister than to arms, fled to the monastery of St. Maurice, which he had founded at the entrance of the Valais; he soon suffered a defeat, and fell by an ignominious death. During ten years his brother Godemar maintained the defence of the country. A. D. 526. He slew Chlodomir, the son of Clovis, who had appeased the rage of his mother by the slaughter of Sigismund. The Franks, as if to dry up the tears of Chlotilda, laid waste Burgundy with fire and sword, until Godemar fell, and with him the royal house of his fathers, and the kingdom of Burgundy became extinct. A. D. 534.

The family of Clovis henceforth governed Burgundy, but the laws and usages of the kingdom remained and the separate existence of the state in peace and war. Burgundy Proper was governed by a duke under the king, and the country on both sides of the Jura by a patrician.

SECTION IV.

THE ALLEMANNI.

From the Helvetic Aare to the Lahn, and farther down towards Cologne, dwelt the Allemanni, who being a pastoral people, retained their ancient virtues and poverty with greater constancy than those tribes who had learnt the practice of agriculture in the Roman empire. It was their custom to burn towns. They possessed cattle and arms, and knew no other property. Their territory was an undivided common land,* and their laws were unwritten.

* The common land of the nation was termed Allmende in the Upper German dialect.

The Allemanni carried on war against Clovis, the Frank, on account of the undetermined limits of their respective countries. A battle was fought near Zulpich (A. D. 496.), in the district of Juliers; and the victory seemed ready to declare itself on the side of the Allemanni, when Clovis, in the sight of his army, of whom a great part were Gauls and Romans, raised his hands to heaven, and uttered a prayer to his God. His soldiers burning with zeal to show how much mightier was Christ than Thor or Woden, rushed upon their enemy and put him to the route. The Allemanni exclaimed, "Spare, O king of the Franks, thy own subjects! We are thy vassals." Yet many of these people chose to migrate into distant lands, while several districts at length submitted to the conqueror, a national animosity may be traced in every age between the Allemanni and the Franks.

King Theodoric, or Dietrich of Austrasia, the greatest of the sons of Clovis, assembled the chiefs, and all the Christian people of the Allemanni (for the worshippers of idols were excluded from participation in civil rights), and appointed them a code of laws, which Childebert, Chlotaire, and Dagobert, renewed, corrected, and amplified.

According to these the duke, with the consent of the people, had the nomination of the counts, or justices of the hundreds. A hundred probably consisted originally of as many houses, and in the sequel comprehended a small district, which acknowledged the authority of a select body of a hundred persons. Each hundred or district had its convention every eighth or fourteenth day; and on the first of March, every year, the general assembly* of the whole people was convened. For the rest there were the same divisions of rank as in the kingdom of Burgundy. The land, as it is still in some places, was cultivated by slaves for half the produce; yet the distribution was various: in some districts the slave tilled the ground three days for the owner, and spent as many in turn upon that portion which was allotted for his own support. In general the agriculturists were of servile condition, while the pastoral people were more free. The former consisted of those

* Publicus Mallus.

nations who had been formerly subdued by the Allemanni. There are accordingly in the laws prolix regulations, alluding to dogs and the chase: stags were tamed, and bears' flesh eaten. The object of these laws is evidently for the most part to render the manners of the people more gentle, and on that account no man was allowed to visit another with arms about his person. If a man was killed by a dog the owner of the animal was fined half the sum by which he might have made composition if he had himself been guilty of the deed, or the dog was hanged up at the door of the owner's house, which remained open till he fell to pieces. Many precautions were adopted in order that no man might be murdered on his way to the judge, that the country might not be betrayed by any man to the enemy, and that the son of a duke might never levy war against his father. As it was designed to alienate the people from bloodshed, the greater number of penalties consisted of pecuniary mulcts. Lastly, as the terrors and ordinances of religion were indispensable for the forming of manners, it was enacted, that he who neglected to attend public worship on the sabbath day should be condemned to slavery. The bishops enjoyed the same dignity as counts. Thirty-five of the former (for their number was considerable as long as the duties of the function were more regarded than the splendor and power attached to it), seventy-seven of the latter, and thirty-three dukes, were assembled with other freemen for the enactment of these regulations.

SECTION V.

THE KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS.

Among the enterprising warriors of this age, the Franks were the most prosperous, as far as prosperity consists in victories and the possession of power. We saw them in the third century pass over, as a military confederation, from the wastes and swamps of lower Germany into Gaul, where, at the fall of the western empire, they afforded protection to many cities. When Rome was stripped of her

dominion, the lieutenants in Gaul acknowledged the nominal sway of the Constantinopolitan emperor, but the nations of the west received no assistance in their difficulties. At this era Clovis,* descended from a race of former chieftains, who had established themselves in the low countries, and had gradually extended their dominion as far as Paris, having attained the age of Alexander at the commencement of the Persian war, won a victory over the Roman lieutenant, which secured the permanence and independence of the Frankish monarchy. A. D. 486. He invited the Gauls to throw off the feeble sway of the emperors, which was abused for the purposes of oppression, and to associate themselves with a more energetic and better government. In the course of twenty years he united, partly by voluntary accessions, and partly by his victorious arms, all the country, from the Maese to the Pyrenees, under one head. In the meantime he secured the old Salic settlements of his people by taming the Thuringians, and the Rhine by overcoming the Allemanni. The bishops of Gaul, offended with the emperors Anastasius and Zeno, for their interference in theological disputes which they were incompetent to decide, and not without hope of acquiring a salutary influence over the ardent and open mind of the young barbarian conqueror, favored the cause of him who was alone able to protect them. How much more willing was their allegiance after Clovis had received baptism at the head of three thousand Franks! A courage which was not founded on the consciousness of superior tactics, but inspired by the national character of ancient Germany, generally decided the contest on the side of the strongest party; but any unexpected turn, or sudden impression, often threw an army into confusion, or gave it the victory.

Though Burgundy, the feet of the Pyrenees, and the southern provinces, were subject to other princes, while in Gascony and Armorica the genius of ancient freedom still exempted those countries from dependence, yet the kingdom of the Franks, after the death of Clovis, perhaps on

* The author calls him Chlodwig, but he is recognized by English readers under the name of Clovis.

account of those very circumstances, appeared too great for a single ruler. A. D. 511. The principle of dividing monarchies became the more readily established, from the analogy which the exercise of the supreme power seemed to bear to the inheritance of a private estate, the civil law being the only one in existence, and the law of the realm being as yet unknown. On the same grounds females came to be excluded from the succession, because a Salic estate required a male administrator in the council and in the field.

The genius of Clovis survived with his posterity. His sons, as we have seen, amidst the conflicts of Burgundy with the Ostrogoths, united that country to their dominions; and the Franks, during the wars of the Ostrogoths and Romans, gained Provence, or the ancient Province, as the reward of their assistance or neutrality. While those kings extended the boundaries on this side, the fourth of them, Dietrich of Austrasia, penetrated far into the German forests, that he might obtain security for his frontiers, and increase the number of his subjects. A. D. 536. Thuringia was subdued by his arms, a country which comprehended the territory now called by that name, together with lower Hessia, and various parts of the electorate of Brunswick. The Bavarian princes, intimidated by the barbarous hordes who were issuing from Pannonia and the Bohemian forest, willingly accepted a defensive treaty with the Franks. In the meantime the French kings in the west lost none of the opportunities which the frequent convulsions of the kingdom of the Visigoths afforded for taming the wild Gascons, and uniting the modern Languedoc under their sway.

The kingdom of the Franks was at the same time hereditary in the family of Clovis, and subject to an election among the descendants of his house.* He had obtained from the emperor the dignities of consul and patrician. The Salic laws were drawn up by four lords, who in three general assemblies of the elders and wise men of the people

* Ita reges Francorum electione pariter et successione soliti sunt procreari, à primo Pharamundo usque in Hildericum regem. *Chronic Fossat.*

had given information concerning the rights and customs of the nation, and they were ratified by the king, the nobles, and the whole Christian people in the dominions of the Merovingian princes or descendants of the royal house. The national liberties were at this time greater than when the nobles and deputies of the Bavarian people received their code of laws from the king of the Franks, at Chalons on the Marne. The name of the king did not at first figure at the head of all public ordinances. The most ancient deed in which it is found is one of Childebert, "*the exalted man*,"* king of the Franks. A. D. 554. These ordinances were the resolutions adopted by the king, his liege servants, and the general assembly in the field of March, or in whatever place it might be necessary to summon them.

The assemblies of the nation obtained, by the sanction of the bishops, who, in this respect, followed the practice of the old German priests, a kind of sacred authority. The bishops made use of these assemblies in order to procure enactments favorable to the propagation of Christianity. Their supreme pastor, the pope, came in this way to be regarded as a sort of father, or protector, of the growing states of the west, and in return he considered it as his duty to give stability to such conventions. "It has been ordained, not without the particular providence of God," said Sigismund, king of Burgundy, "that these assemblies should be held twice in every year; they have been neglected, and we now receive from Rome the severest reprimands."† He commanded, accordingly, that an assembly should be held for the future on the 6th of September every year, "at which time the ecclesiastics are not so much engrossed with the worldly cares of husbandry."

From such meetings it was that the capitularies proceeded, the oldest of which were, for the most part, regulations concerning morals. The oldest epistle "of the most gracious and blessed king Childebert," had for its objects to prohibit "the worship of images, drunkenness and dancing women."

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* Vir illuster.

† Qua propter Papa urbis mittit mordacia scripta.

All the regulations, however, of barbarous tribes, before their settlements had become permanent by long custom, were merely personal or popular, and there was nothing that comes under the denomination of law of the land. Accordingly, among the Romans in Gaul, the code established by Theodosius the Second, before the time of Clovis, still remained in authority; and among the Visigoths, who affected to imitate the manners of more civilized nations, and the Burgundians, whose kings were vicegerents of the emperors, it not only maintained its influence, but, amid the strange turns of human affairs during these times of ignorance, even assumed the place of the common law, of which the code had fallen into oblivion.

When the genius of Clovis ceased to animate his successors, the royal dignity still remained in his house, but the power was transferred to hands which were able to wield it. Already, during the reign of Gontram, his grandson, a patrician of Burgundy had raised himself to a degree of power which the king was scarcely able to withstand, though he conciliated the nobles by grants of land and slaves. Similar contingencies diminished the Merovingian inheritance, the source of the authority of the kings. A. D. 560. The nobles, who were elevated by these grants, brought into fashion, through their influence in the assemblies, a right of prescription, and afterwards caused their investments to be established by pragmatic sanction. A. D. 587. From this time an aristocratical middle power began to arise between the king and the freemen, a constitution, the advantages of which could only be maintained and dispensed by kings of extraordinary discrimination, until, in the 12th century, the accession of the class of burgesses established a balance of power, which lasted until the nobility were depressed, and all things reduced under the control of a single ruler.

The house of Clovis declined through a corruption of manners which left no room for forming the rising princes of the family to the pursuit of great and noble enterprises. The same cause rendered these chieftains so often the sacrifice of factions in the court and among the nobles, that in the course of forty years six kings perished by poison or by assassination.

Protadius, a Roman patrician on the Jura, was the first who usurped the authority of the ancient chieftains; with this distinction, that as he exercised it in the name of the sovereign, he endeavored to extend the power of the latter. With this view he sought to depress the nobles, who refused constitutionally their service in a war to which they had not agreed, until their true enemy, the minister, who was a favorite of the queen, should be removed out of the way. Protadius fell, but queen Brunehild obtained revenge for him, whereupon the nobles, remembering that the arms of the nation were in their hands, declared themselves for Chlotaire the great-grandson of Clovis, and the enemy of the queen, whom they gave up to a cruel death. A. D. 613. On this occasion Merovingian France became again united under a single sovereign.

Soon after these events, the foundations of the French constitution were settled, at an assembly which Chlotaire held at Paris, assisted by his nobles, liege subjects, and bishops. A. D. 615. Security of body and estate against arms, oppression, arbitrary taxation, and claims founded upon prescript, were its general principles. In order to obtain these objects, spiritual and temporal lords were provided with sufficient power and independence to render them competent guardians of liberty. Their possessions were secured to them for this end; and that the bishops might obtain an influence equivalent to that which the multitude of their vassals and bondsmen gave to the temporal lords, it was decreed that they should become the protectors of emancipated slaves. They were secure from all fear of deposition from their dignity, so long as they observed the laws of the empire and of the church. Every freeman was tried by his peers, and by the same forms to which his judges themselves would be subjected. No man was allowed to attain to any political trust in a country of which he was not a native, and with the customs of which he was therefore supposed to be unacquainted.

Agriculture was thenceforward subjected to less frequent disturbances, and the kingdom attained a degree of splendor which had been unknown for many years. In the midst of

the barbarians the long-haired Franks*, flourished, without disturbance either from the vanquished tribes of northern Germany, who began to frequent peaceably the markets of St. Denys, from the more distant and divided Slavonians, the weaker Visigoths, or the Lombards, who were separated from them by the Alpine barrier.

SECTION VI.

THE VISIGOTHS IN SPAIN.

Until the reign of Theodoric the Second, the son of that Theodoric who fell in the defence of the western nations against Attila, Toulouse remained the capital of the kingdom of the Visigoths. The Allemanni were the most powerful nation in Spain, and the complete subjugation of that country, which was threatened by the arms of the Visigoths, was impeded by the same circumstances, depending on local relations, which, during 171 years, had enabled the Spaniards to resist the efforts of the Roman legions. A hundred and seventy years also elapsed from the arrival of Adolf in Catalonia,† before king Leuvigild, in Braga, made captive Andika, the last king of the Allemanni and forced the whole peninsula to revere the throne of the Visigoths. Spain had boundaries appointed by nature, but circumstances prevented her during 1200 years, from enjoying the benefit of this privilege. A time had been, when, under king Eurich, the Visigoths seemed likely to extend their dominion in Gaul, and the southern districts still remained under their sway.

But never was any elective monarchy exposed to more terrible convulsions than those which shook the Visigothic throne. In the course of 127 years, Leuvigild had seventeen successors, of whom seven were allied in some manner to his house, and all the others obtained the crown by forcible and irregular means. The passions of envy and

* Crinosi, tricoracati: Childeb. Charon. Casin.
† A. D. 414 to 585.

revenge played their unhappy game on a greater scale than in any other realm. The prevailing temper of manners contributed to this influence. The ordinances of the church or laws established through its ascendancy, were even at that period terrible in Spain. The nobles were filled with a spirit of haughtiness which led them to degrade the lower classes, and at the same time rendered them rebellious against the king. The people delighted in blood, and displayed firmness and constancy only in following the bent of their violent passions. The hatred of heretics was the more strongly impressed by the religious orders in Spain, in proportion as the wild extravagance of the imagination of this people had distorted the principles of the faith. A system of religious worship, burdensome by its trifling observances, and imposing by its pomp, was introduced and exercised with extravagant practices. Montesquieu has justly termed the laws of the Visigoths puerile, full of error, ignorant, contradictory, rich in rhetoric and poor in sense, insignificant in their contents and prodigious in their pretensions. Under king Sisenand they were reduced at Toledo to a regular form. The Theodosian code, brought into use through Anianus, chancellor of Alarich the Second, and the ancient customs of the nation, were the sources of these laws. They were afterwards reformed by Bermudo the Second, and again amplified by a third king of the same name. It was under the second Bermudo that the canon law obtained the authority of a civil code.

SECTION VII.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN.

The Aborigines of Britain had long ago sought an asylum for their independence in the remotest mountains of their island, and maintained it by the practice of warfare, for which the Scots gave them perpetual occasion. The Hebrides were divided between the Scots and Hibernians, as the islands of the Ægæan sea had been shared by the Greeks and Persians.

The first Belgic Britons in the southern parts of the island lost by the Roman victories their liberty and the strength of character which was necessary to restore it. Pressed by sea and land, they found themselves under the necessity of inviting a tribe of those Saxons whom we have elsewhere described as a nation of formidable navigators.

The English brought with them to Britain the simple and barbarous manners of the German tribes. The followers of Hengist and the other hordes, who successively passed over and occupied the country, maintained their national character with the greater purity, as the insular situation of England prevented intercourse with foreigners. They were animated by a love of their country and a spirit of independence, which were cherished during six hundred years, by the weakness of monarchy or by impediments arising from the various states of public opinion, and the inclinations of the nobility and the popular assemblies which controlled the ambition of the kings. From this long contest there arose, at length, a constitution, which will continue to unite the various advantages of all the forms of government, and to avoid their evils, until the commercial spirit shall finally give rise to habits of thinking incompatible with the self-devotion of patriotism. These causes maintained life and vigor in the state.

For the rest, England was divided into seven kingdoms, of which the subjects were chiefly Saxons or those Britons whom their circumstances had not enabled to emigrate. The remainder of the Britons sought refuge in the mountains of Wales, or passed over the sea, to share the fate of Armorica to which country they imparted the name of their native land.

England, properly so called, was long before the time of Alfred divided into hundreds and counties. Every division had its head, who was responsible to his superior, and all were subject to the king. Forty names of such counties serve still for the division of the country; but there are large cities which are within the jurisdiction of no county, and districts which give the tenths not to any bishop, but to the king, those towns having been built since the division of counties took place, and such districts brought into

cultivation since the revenues of the church were allotted. The institutions of England are in this respect peculiar, that the people have so much reverence for antiquity, as rather to bear with imperfections than to violate the venerable form of the political fabric. Liberty, which is founded on custom and precedent, does not admit of innovations.

Every district elected its magistrate, so that even at that early period the ambitious had no way of obtaining their gratification but by seeking to gain the affections of the people by popular manners. Laws were enacted by the king, in the council of the nobles and wise men. The latter long retained the impression of the wisdom of ancient Rome, a certain predilection for knowledge, as if the Muses had ever sought the land of freedom. This national council was assembled in a regular manner twice every year. Freemen held that place in it, which in the records is distinguished by the name of Commons. The judgments, that were given during these times, were the models and foundation of the common law, the oral remains of original customs and rights, as they had been declared in every case by the voice of twelve men of the same rank with the accused. These decisions, handed down from antiquity, formed the favorite law of the country, the foundation of English liberty as it had descended from the earliest ages. Those institutions, which had not their origin in the primitive manners of the people, were introduced in later times by violence and craft.

How the constitution, manners, and religion of a people may undergo frequent alterations, while through all such vicissitudes the love of freedom may still remain inherent in them, and display proofs of its influence on every occasion; how this general sentiment, exalted by all private interests, may yet in no particular give rise to any excess, but may produce an equilibrium of power in the whole fabric of the state; how this spirit of independence may find the way of limiting the power of the king, by means of a parliament, and the authority of the latter by means of the king, and the influence of one house by that of the other; and how these strong and multifarious bonds of liberty may give to all classes of the people a lofty elevation of character; all these

great and splendid problems find their solution in the history of the English nation. When we observe the old Albiones in the mountains of Caledonia, the Britons in Wales, and the English themselves all animated with the same spirit, we are obliged to conjecture the existence of some permanent, ever-operative cause, powerful enough to overcome the original characters which these nations brought with them from foreign realms. As we have observed the laws of the Chinese, Indians, and Egyptians, resist the effect of repeated vicissitudes, and of a long series of ages, and the institutions of Lycurgus maintain their relation to the rugged feet of the Taÿgetus; as we have seen the Romans and Carthaginians acquire from local circumstances those characters which have excited the admiration of posterity; the manners of the Germans remain permanent on their native soil, undergo in Spain a complete reverse, and give way in France to a more sprightly character; so we may contemplate the British isles, as destined by nature to become the land of freedom. Finer fruits are the gifts of a warmer climate; and colder regions bring forth still hardier bodies; but the former enervates and renders its people effeminate, the latter enables them to bear even slavery with patience; the climate of England holds the enviable mean, and moderation is the character of all its institutions.

The whole northern region of the world was as yet unknown. Scarcely does a faint glimmering break forth by degrees more like the polar lights than the splendor of day. Scandinavia, Russia, Sarmatia, and the land of the Gepidi, to the confines of the Eastern empire, were still enveloped in this darkness.

SECTION VIII.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

A. D. 395. In Constantinople, Arcadius, son of the great Theodosius, was the sport of a treacherous minister and a too powerful consort. A. D. 408. The second Theodosius found himself unable to govern monks and

eunuchs; how, then, was it probable that he would venture to resist Attila? It was his good fortune that Yezdejard reigned over the powerful empire of Persia, to whose upright tutelage it appears that Arcadius was not afraid of confiding the unripe years of the young prince. This monarch indeed showed so much favor to the Christians, that he made a most unfavorable impression on the supporters of the religion of his country. His successor, Bahram, whom the Persians extolled, and who was hated by the Christians, weakened his own party by the persecutions he excited against the latter.

Theodosius gave himself up to the quiet enjoyments of his court, to literature, and private friendship, and the chase. He is celebrated for the oldest collection of the Roman law which has come down to our time: but his good qualities were abused by the evil genius of his age, above which he had not power to raise himself, and which rendered him a slave to the passions of insolent priests. The earlier council of the church at Ephesus, which was held during the latter part of his reign, deserved no better appellation than that of a synod of robbers. It was here that the most impetuous of all prelates succeeded in exciting every species of violence and treachery against Nestorius.

The church was yet trembling under the consequences of these proceedings when Pulcheria, the prudent sister of the emperor, ascended the throne, which, together with her hand, she confided to Marcianus, a soldier of great merit. A. D. 450. She held the council of Chalcedon against Eutyches, which was still more to be deplored; not that its crimes exceeded those of the Ephesian council, for that would seem scarcely possible, but because it furnished new occasion for the disquieting of the Christian churches. In the four councils of Nicæa, of Constantinople (which was held by the elder Theodosius), of Ephesus and Chalcedon, it had been the aim of intemperate priests to penetrate all the mysteries of the divine nature, and, without knowledge of languages or critical taste, to determine the sense of the more exalted passages in holy writ. By thus drawing away the attention of men from that wisdom and goodness which is

given us to love and practise, the object of revelation was defeated, and the mind was turned to a servile reverence of unintelligible dogmas.

A. D. 457. The reign of Leo, who succeeded Marcianus, was disgraced by the ingratitude of this prince towards Aspar, to whom he was indebted for the throne. The factions of the court and the affairs of the church continued to engross the attention of the government, and Zeno, the son-in-law of Leo, was dethroned in the East, about the time when Rome lost the empire of the West. A. D. 474. While Clovis was founding the kingdom of the Franks, the East groaned under a religious edict of Zeno, now restored to the Byzantine throne. A. D. 491. Even the good qualities of the emperor Anastasius were enslaved by the vain desire of deciding questions which he would more wisely have left untouched. Justin himself, the honest and ignorant warrior, had nearly entailed a persecution on the Catholics in Italy, by oppressing the Arians, who held the same creed with the Ostrogoth Theodoric. A. D. 519. All these emperors were eager to reduce to unintelligible definitions all the various forms under which the mind of man represents to his view subjects of which it cannot penetrate the obscurity.

Justinian also lived chiefly for the court, and adorned it with a dignified exterior; while two parties, in the church and on the arena, disturbed its tranquillity. By his command the learned men of the empire made the most perfect compilation that was possible of the Roman law, while Belisarius restrained the Persian Nushirvan from extending his dominions, conquered Africa, and prepared in Italy laurels for Narses. A. D. 527. We cannot refuse to allow that he displayed a perception of the magnificent, particularly in architecture: but the praise of having availed himself of the public prosperity, and the talents of his illustrious subjects, for the restoration of the real strength of the state, is denied to him by the events of his last years, and by the fate of his successors on the throne.

A. D. 565. During the reign of Justin the Second, the empress Sophia possessed the same influence in public affairs which Theodora had exerted with such pernicious

effects in the time of Justinian. By her Narses was alienated, and Italy for the most part lost. The emperor, whose designs were upright, ended his reign under the gloom of calamity, having yielded the throne to the brave and generous Tiberius. A. D. 578. The latter was too soon succeeded by Mauritius, an excellent soldier, who seems to have been deficient in that commanding genius and in those shining qualities, which are necessary for the supreme ruler of an empire. A. D. 582. The khan of the Avares defeated his troops, which were unskilfully commanded when the emperor was not at their head; and when Mauritius, like the old Roman senate, disdained to ransom those who had surrendered themselves to the enemy, Phocas availed himself of this occasion to corrupt the allegiance of the troops who had been strangers to military discipline. In consequence of this single instance of severity, this excellent prince, and his whole house, lost their lives. A. D. 602.

The young Heraclius easily expelled from his throne an assassin stained with every crime (A. D. 610.): not so easy was the defence of the empire against the Persians, whose victorious arms were already visible from the walls of the capital. But Heraclius assisted the defence by his presence, and their fortune, for the last time, deserted the house of the Sassanidæ. Although the emperor excited the censures of his age by marrying within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, and for departing from the received forms of belief concerning the unity of will in the double nature of Christ; yet he would have terminated his reign with the most splendid renown, and with well-deserved good fortune, had not Fate at this period called forth into action a nation which had never yet played its part among the revolutions of mankind, but which now sprang forth like lightning; and having displayed for a while astonishing energies, and at length returned to its first limits in freedom and security, has left behind it, on the theatre of the world, its religion, and many striking effects of its customs and domination.

BOOK XII.

OF THE RISE OF THE MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ARABIAN EMPIRE.—FROM A. D. 622 to 732.

SECTION I.

ARABIA.

Arabia, or the Western Land, received that name from the Chaldeans, whose country lay to the eastward of the desert. Among the Syrians, the tribes of the wilderness were called Saracens, or natives of the East. Their original name is Barbar, Sons of the Desert: they are proud of this distinction, and look with contempt upon the inhabitants of cities. The Arabian peninsula is formed by two gulfs which advance far into the land; and the desert region to the northward occupies a large space between the empires of the Persians and the Romans. The whole extent of Arabia may be estimated at fifty-five thousand square miles.

The wilderness exhibits nature dreary and destitute of life: the burning rays of the sun ever descend without interruption through a dry and unclouded atmosphere: the naked hills seem stripped of their covering by the winds, and offer unbounded prospects where no shelter refreshes the weary traveller, where no object attracts his view: an immeasurable space seems to spread itself out between him and the animate creation; in which, here and there, under the shade of a few lonely palm trees, a spring of water bubbles forth and is quickly choked in sand. The Arab alone is acquainted with these halting places; he alone frequents them; free, and possessing enough to satisfy his simple wants, he conveys hither the treasures and the slaves which he robs from those caravans that venture to dispute the tolls exacted by the great emir of the desert.

The camel affords the only means of communication between these islands in the ocean of sand. This animal, like his master, learns from his earliest years to endure hunger, thirst, and the loss of sleep. He often marches three or four hundred leagues without drinking more than once in eight or ten days, and eating any thing, in the space of twenty-four hours, except a few thistles or stalks of wormwood. He often bears for weeks a load of thirteen hundred pounds, without ever being lightened of his burden. He constitutes the safety and the riches of the Arab, and is the most faithful companion of his life. While the camel bears double the burden of a mule, he is more frugal than an ass; his flesh is not less esteemed as food than that of the calf; the value of his hair rivals the finest fleece; his dung serves for fuel: his urine affords sal ammoniac. A nod points out the way to him, and a song re-animates his steps.

Amid orchards on the banks of the Euphrates, the chief hamlet of these roving tribes, the ancient Anah, stretches itself out through a long tract; where the great emir of the Bedwins at particular periods fixes his abode. Among the Bedwins, several families obey the authority of one sheik, the noblest and richest of their clan; and all the sheiks acknowledge the supremacy and claim the protection of the great emir. His capital is a moving town, which is laid out in regular streets meeting in one spot, where the tent is spread in which the emir dwells. He receives gifts from travellers, who purchase of him a secure and free passage through the desert.

The celebrated schools and commercial towns of Cufa and Bassora lie on the confines of the desert. The names of many tribes remind us of Moses and of Job. The only enemy which the natives dread is the Samoom, *the angel of death*, a sulphureous wind which rises out of the wilderness, the fumes of which suffocate all the animals and men who fall in its way. It blows through Arabia and Africa, and is felt as far as Spain.

We have already spoken of Arabia Petræa, which received its name from the town of Selah, called Petra by the Greeks. On the shores of the Arabian gulf are situated the cities of the prophet, Medinat-al-Nabi and Mecca.

Of Yemen, or Arabia the Happy, the shores alone have been accurately explored. We only know that the interior is inhabited by a people of bold and animated character, who dwell in proud independence in their pastures, or in gardens which produce abundantly the most fragrant plants, such as frankincense, balsam, cinnamon, cassia, and coffee. Roads have been formed for communication between the principal towns, and the land in their vicinity is cultivated to the tops of the hills. From a shrub resembling the juniper-tree, the Arabs gather that frankincense which smokes in the churches of Christendom and in the temples of the East. They collect coffee from a shrub which is said to have been transplanted from Abyssinia to the hills of Yemen. How little did Prosper Alpinus suspect when he described this plant in Egypt about two hundred years ago, and commended its medicinal qualities, that it would become in a few generations the favorite beverage of Europe, and an article of necessity, from the seraglio of the Turk to the huts of Switzerland, a source of much good and evil to society; and that physicians would write books to proscribe its use!*

The same region so much abounds with excellent horses, that if there is any place which is the native seat of that noble animal, and which produces his race in its greatest perfection, it would seem to be Arabia.† The steeds of the Arabs are equally beautiful, though not so large as those of Africa: they are swift as ostriches, but fit only for the chase. One class of Arabian horses is preserved pure in the breed, with long and well attested registers of a remote ancestry: others are bred from the casual mixture of various races. They are the daily and nightly companions of the Arabs, who are anxious to keep them clean and in good condition: they stand saddled through the day and feed by night. The coursers of the East, and of the African Moors, were brought originally from Arabia Felix.

The shores of Yemen run down along the Arabian gulf

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* Du Four, Traité du Café à la Haye. 1685. Linnæi Amœnitates. 6.

† Buffon.—I have abandoned this opinion, and now no longer consider Arabia, but the kingdom of Kuku, or some region of Africa, to the south or the west of Egypt, as the most probable country of the horse. (Remark of the Author.)

as far as the straits of Babel Mandeb, in the vicinity of which lies Okad, where bards in ancient times contended for the prize of poetry. Here, among gardens and groves of coffee, is situated Mocha, the central point of Arabian commerce, in which is the chief receipt of the customs of Yemen. Nearer to the end of the peninsula, important by its situation and the excellence of its haven, Adel is seated on a promontory at the foot of a lofty rock. This place was visited by the Greeks and Romans, who sought spices also on the coast of Hadramaut, and brought the aloe from Socotora. Mara and Oman have been less known to history.

We have elsewhere made mention of the attempts of the Hebrews at Palmyra or Tadmor in the Wilderness, and at Thiphsach on the Euphrates, to settle towns which might afford protection to the shepherds who wandered with their flocks from Gilead: we have spoken also of their enterprises from the ports of Elath and Eziongeber, and of the commercial colonies of the Phœnicians on the gulf of Persia. The interior of Arabia has never yet been explored. There the Tobbah ruled at Saba by the authority of laws, without encroaching on their freedom, over valiant hordes: shut up in their palaces after the manner of Orientals, and surrounded with eunuchs, they exercised the judicial power to the common advantage of their nation, while nature had made sufficient provision for defence against foreign enemies. The traditions of Saba yet preserve the name of Balkis, that queen who admired the wisdom of Solomon, and who bore a son, the ancestor of the Negush who now reigns in Habesh.

Above the city of the Sabæans, which was also called Mareb, in an elevated valley to the north-west, there was a vast tank or artificial lake, of the walls of which are yet seen stupendous ruins. This lake supplied the capital, and irrigated its gardens; the water was one hundred feet in depth, and palaces were erected on its walls; the city was the abode of opulence and pleasure. In one night, as it is believed, during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, this wall was broken down, and the town was swept away by the

overwhelming waters. The years are computed from this calamity.

In vain Alexander aspired to the sovereignty of Arabia, and vain were the efforts of the Romans. A Greek colony in Socotora may still be traced among the hills of that island. When Anastasius I. held the imperial sceptre at Constantinople, and Naowash, king of Hamyar, in Yemen, who professed the Jewish faith, persecuted the Christians; the Arabs were overcome by a Christian, the Negush of Abyssinia. Naowash, disdaining to submit, drowned himself in the sea. Thenceforward the African conquerors governed Yemen by means of deputies.

The misfortunes of Arabia were of no long duration, yet the effect of them is still felt in Europe. The conquerors brought with them the small-pox from the poisonous Africa: they communicated it to the Arabs, and commerce has spread it through the world. At first it broke out seldom, but committed dreadful ravages. Before a hundred years had elapsed, it appeared in Italy, and made its way to Burgundy and to Germany.

SECTION II.

MOHAMMED.

During these times of anarchy, while the freedom of Arabia was suffering under the arms of the Negush and of Khosra Nushirvan the Persian monarch, Mohammed was born in the 570th year of the Christian era. He was descended from a family which had produced many chieftains, and many enterprising merchants. His father, Abdallah, died early, and left to his mother, the Jewess Emina, five camels and a female slave.

Mohammed displayed from his infancy reflection and a fiery imagination: he was generous beyond his fortune; compassionate, susceptible of warm friendship, and abandoned to licentious pleasures. In his exterior he had that serious demeanor which distinguishes the Oriental people;

a dignified manner; an animated and pleasing expression of countenance. He was of the middle stature, his limbs were well proportioned, and his features striking.

In his twentieth year he bore arms in a sacred war, which his tribe, the Koreish, waged against certain bands of robbers, who disturbed the pilgrimage to Mecca. The black stone of the Caaba, in the great tower of Saba the son of Cush, had been from early times an object of veneration. It represented the earth, the mother of all, the central mass, around which the chaotic matter was distributed and reduced to order. It is still held sacred in the East.

Five years afterwards he resorted to the fair of Damascus, to sell the merchandise of the rich widow Chadija. His genius and address gained the affections of the widow, and she bestowed upon him her hand and fortune. As long as she lived Mohammed treated her with grateful respect and irreproachable fidelity.

Mohammed beheld with sorrow the calamities of his country, the abandonment of its ancient manners, and the introduction of foreign customs. He had learnt from his mother that the Jews were still expecting the champion of Israel; he had heard from the Christians that Jesus had promised to those who loved him, the Comforter, who should lead them into all truth. He was persuaded, by the suggestions of his own mind, that he was the person who was capable of restoring happiness to the nations. In the fortieth year of his age happened the night of the decree of God, in which Gabriel, one of the archangels, as he believed, or as he declared, called him to be a prophet of the Most High. A. D. 610. This event he related to Chadija, and to Varaca, his father-in-law. His words inflamed them with holy zeal, and they swore "by that God, in whose hand is the soul of Chadija and Varaca, Mohammed is the prophet of God."

Immediately his cause was embraced by the young Ali, grandson of the chief Abutaleb, "*the first of the witnesses*," who received in marriage the daughter of the prophet. The old, respectable, and upright Abubeker soon joined himself to the party.

Often when he was seized by fits of epilepsy, Mohammed

fancied that he heard the voice of angels. The prophet began in sincerity, led astray by his fancied gift; but fraud and violence enabled him to accomplish what piety and praiseworthy motives induced him to attempt. He expected to succeed to the office of guardian of the sacred stone; but the zeal of party excited a tumult which threatened his life. Mohammed fled in disguise and closely pursued from Mecca, and escaped through the groves of palm-trees to Yatreb, where the Jews had secured in his interest the chief men of the city. From that day,* which was the 16th of July, in the 622d year of our era, the Moslem compute the succession of time: this is the epoch of the Hejira, which Omar instituted in the year 639. The prophet was welcomed at Yatreb by 500 disciples, and that town received the title of Medinat-al-Nabi, the prophetic city.

Islam, the religion which Mohammed promulgated, contains these dogmas, that there is one God, and that Mohammed is his prophet, by whom the law of Moses and of Jesus is perfected and accomplished. He published no new tenets; but only adorned and exhibited in a form adapted to the ideas, prejudices, and inclinations of the Orientals, that doctrine which is as ancient as the human race. He moreover enjoined many ablutions, well suited to the manners and necessities of the hotter climates: he ordained five daily prayers, that man might learn habitually to elevate his thoughts above himself, and above the sensible world: he instituted the festival of the Ramadan and the pilgrimage to Mecca, and commanded that every man should bestow in alms the 100th part of his possessions; for these observances already existed in established custom, or in the circumstances which gave occasion to their enactment. In like manner the prohibition of wine and the flesh of swine, circumcision, and the Friday's sabbath, are partly more ancient, and in part new, or rather recommended than strictly ordained. He established a law adapted to circumstances, a religion for countries, in which the sublimity of Islam produced a greater impression than the subtle fri-

* Or rather from the commencement of the year, 68 days before.

volities which then divided the theologians of the Christian church. Enthusiasm joined its influence, and elevated the soul of the true believer above the whole visible world; above the power of perishable things; and above the fear of death itself. While an abject superstition debased the subjects of the Byzantine empire, the soul of the Arab was kindled into fervor, by the elevated simplicity of a doctrine which opposed few checks to the vehemence of his passions.

Its power was first displayed in a war in which the prophet overthrew his enemies at Mecca. At the village of Beder, where the Moslem pilgrims still offer up adorations, he obtained the first victory. Happy was he esteemed who had fallen for the true faith! He had departed to endless enjoyment, in fragrant and shady groves, where beautiful black-eyed virgins awaited him; where heavenly youths sprinkled him with water of the roses of Paradise, from goblets of pearl and gold!

After the conquest of Mecca, his command was sent to Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople, to Khosru Parviz, the king of Persia, to the Arabian emirs, to the Negush and the governor of Egypt: "In the name of him who formed heaven and earth, and who ordained Islam from eternity to endless ages; believe in Mohammed, teacher of the divine and universal law." Arabia willingly received his command, and acknowledged that he restored the faith of her patriarchs. The chieftain, Chalid, marched against the unbelievers, at the head of three thousand men, and defeated an army of twenty thousand. In the cause of the Lord of heaven and earth, fear found no place, especially when the prophet declared that the end of his mortal career is predestined from eternity to every man, in the counsels of Providence.

When Mecca had become obedient, and all Arabia paid him reverence, Mohammed commanded Islam to be carried into every country, and all nations to be united by arms or by faith. The prophet having been poisoned, as it was believed, in the 63d year of his age, departed into the presence of that Eternal Being, whose unity and goodness he

caused, by the exertions of his whole life, to become the faith of more than half the ancient world.

SECTION III.

THE EMPIRE OF THE ARABS.

Ali, the first of the faithful, aimed at succeeding his father-in-law the prophet: but his design was defeated by the intrigues of Ayesha, one of Mohammed's widows, who had once received an affront from Ali; and her father Abubeker was raised, by the majority of voices, to the honor of chalif, or successor. The remains of the prophet were deposited in a coffin of white marble. His visions and revelations were recorded in writing, that the tradition of his faith might be preserved in a firm and unchangeable basis. Such is the Koran, a work which, by the importance of its contents, the sublimity of its representations, the purity of its expression, has become not only the sacred, but also the classical, book of the Moslem.

While these affairs occupied the chalif, Chalid conquered all the countries which lie between the Tigris and Euphrates and the Mediterranean sea. Four thousand and five hundred of the faithful laid the foundation of the Arabian empire. This general and Amru displayed the energies of a nation bred in the hardy habits of the pastoral state, and roused to energy by the impulse of fanaticism. A flame, which was destined soon to consume its own vital force, extended the dominion of the Moslem; but the empire survived, supported by its relations to the country and people under its sway, and by the influence of ancient opinion and never-fading passions.

The great Khosru Parviz, the Persian, the terror of the Byzantine emperors, who had carried away the true cross from Jerusalem, after a reign of nearly forty years ever victorious until shortly before its termination, was assassinated by his son Shiruyeh; anarchy prevailed in the kingdom of the Sassanidæ. In the course of three years twelve

kings and queens ascended the throne, and a restless spirit of independence manifested itself in the fortresses of the chieftains. In Constantinople, the crimes of ambition, of faction, and the vices of a corrupt court, ruled under the guise of superstitious sanctity.

In the meantime Chalid tempered the fire of the Moslem by the rules of order and discretion. Old men, women, children, and ecclesiastics, excepting the shorn offspring of the devil (for thus he termed the monks), were spared by the sword. For the rest, to those Christians who submitted to the tribute, toleration and protection were promised. Accordingly, when, after the death of Abubeker (A. D. 634.), Omar, raised by the influence of the same Ayesha to the office of Emir el Mumenin, or commander of the faithful, attempted to recall Chalid, the troops still remained devoted to him, and he carried his victorious arms and the law of Islam through Syria to the confines of Asia Minor.

Amru, the son of Aasi, marched to the conquest of Egypt. A. D. 639. Since Egypt lost her native Pharaohs, she had been alike incapable of restoring her liberty and of submitting to the yoke: always eager to give assistance to the enemies of her present masters, she quickly abandoned the lieutenant of the Greek emperor. Then was the ancient Memphis burnt, Alexandria taken by storm, and, according to an old tradition preserved by Abulpharagi, the remains of those archives of the human race, which had been collected by the Ptolemies, were consumed by fire. Amru attempted to complete a work often begun, by cutting through the land which separates the waters of the Mediterranean from those of the Red sea. It has been supposed that, the surface of the two seas not being of the same level, the adjoining countries may be overwhelmed by the waters of the more elevated basin: but Omar forbade the undertaking, from the apprehension that the prophetic cities would be rendered accessible to the Christian fleets. Eastward of Memphis, Amru built Fosthath, the remains of which are still seen in Old Kahira. It was the custom of the Arabs, in their conquests, to destroy all former things, to give to every region a new face,

and to make the camp of their general the metropolis of every country.

While Egypt was dismembered from the Byzantine dominion, king Yezdejard, the Sassanide, descendant of those Sapors and of those Chosroes, before whose arms the Romans had so often trembled, fought several battles against another Arabian chief, and at length was totally defeated in that of Meru. A. D. 636. The fate of this monarch is differently related. Some historians report that the king was overtaken and slain, while he was entreating a mariner to transport him across a river (A. D. 651.): others say that a necklace and bracelet of gold tempted the cupidity of a miller in Segastan, under whose roof he had taken shelter. His son, abandoned and destitute, but too proud for submission, is said to have taken refuge in China.

Cyprus and Rhodes were plundered: the Moslem penetrated on one side through the chain of Taurus, and on the other into the deserts of Nubia. Amru was recalled by Osman, the successor of Omar; but the warriors declared that, as they revered, in the commander of the faithful, the teacher of the law, so they would follow the most valiant general in the field of battle. The chalifs were for the most part feeble sovereigns: but the empire, founded on the faith which was impressed upon the nation, supported itself: and was invincible as long as the strength of this impression remained.

It already extended from Persia to the desert of Kairwan, and already the throne of the chalif tottered on its foundation. A. D. 655. Ali succeeded Osman, but the widow of the prophet armed the troops against the first of the believers. The sacred chair was shaken by the arts of a woman, while both Romans and Persians fled before the standard of Islam. Ali was at length murdered at Cufa (A. D. 661.), and the Shiites still pay reverence to his tomb in the vicinity of that city.

The Shiites are a party who neither acknowledge his predecessors nor his successors as lawful chalifs; but pay honors to a sacred family descended from him, of which the last individual, Mohammed Montatar, born in the 868th

year of our era, is supposed by them still to survive in concealment, that he may appear as sovereign in the end of time. Of this persuasion is Persia. During the whole of June the Shiites keep fast in honor of Ali and his sons Hassan and Hosein: they lament them by night, when theatrical exhibitions are performed, representing their battles and assassination: effigies of their bodies, stained with blood, are carried in procession through the streets, and every Shiite learns to execrate the Sunnites, the enemies of Ali. Of this latter sect are the Ottoman Turks.

SECTION IV.

COMMANDERS OF THE FAITHFUL OF THE HOUSE OF OMMIA.

The throne of the prophet devolved by inheritance on the house of his uncle Ommia. Abusofian, the son of Ommia, had been the most implacable enemy of Mohammed; while the charms of his wife Hinda attracted the passionate addresses of Hamsa, one of the most eminent advocates of the new faith. Moawiah, sprung from these parents, perceiving the success of the prophet, acknowledged that he came from God, paid him religious homage, and having attached himself to his cause, became lieutenant of a province; and after the death of Ali, and the abdication of Hassan, received the dignity of Emir el Mumenin. While he roused the zeal of the nation in favor of the true faith, he knew how to distinguish the superfluous from the essential: and he drank wine, clothed himself in silk, and removed the doctrinal chair from the humble Mecca to the splendid Damascus, which was reckoned one of the four paradises of the East.

In Africa some wandering tribes invited his general Ocbah to liberate them from the intolerable yoke of the Byzantine emperor. Ocbah achieved this enterprise, and in the country of the ancient Cyrene, the birth-place of so many poets and philosophers, confirmed his conquest by erecting the fortress of Kairwan. A. D. 671. The city of Kairwan was built not far from the coast, at the foot of

a hill, abounding in springs of fresh water, and surrounded by fertile meadows, in a soil rich in mines of salt. Okbah afterwards overran, in the course of a few years, the whole northern tract of Africa, which, while Carthage was yet free, had cost the Romans three Punic wars. A luxurious and refined people every where embraced the side of that faith which was dictated at the head of an armed host. At this time Damia, queen of the Berbers, arose like a second Dido (A. D. 682.), and aimed at rendering her country independent; she conquered Carthage, defeated the Arabs, and laid waste, as Italy to her cost experienced, those plains abounding in corn, which had long been the granary of Europe. She hoped that the enemy would be unable to resist this mode of warfare; but Hassan, at the head of the Arabs, called forth all the resources of enthusiasm, and Carthage fell before his arms. All the African coast, to the straits of Gibraltar, soon yielded to the sword of the Moslem. A. D. 688.

SECTION V.

THE ARABS IN SPAIN.

Spain and the south of France were yet under the dominion of the Visigoths, whose power would have been invincible if they had known how to obey their rulers. We have already observed the throne of the Visigoths shaken by faction: their kings were not accustomed to govern by the maxims of tyrants, or they would have been more able to suppress sedition. No sooner had Rodrigo hurled from the throne, and put out the eyes of king Vitiza, who held his nobles under an iron sceptre, than a Spanish count invited Musa Ebn Nasir, the Arabian governor of Africa, across the Straits. A. D. 710. It has been rumored that king Rodrigo had violated the sister of the count; but it is more probable that the calamity of Spain had its origin in the spirit of faction.

In the seventh year of Walid Ebn Abdulmalik, commander of the faithful, Musa intrusted to his general Tarich, or

Tarif, an army of Arabs, Moors, and Berbers, or wanderers of Africa. At the spot where he passed the Strait, a rocky hill rises 1400 feet above the sea, which it overhangs with a precipitous cliff towards the north and east, while the side which faces the extreme point of Europe has a more gradual descent. This height Tarif fortified (A. D. 712.): it was his rock; Gebel Tarif, or Gibraltar; and he thence extended his incursions through the country. At length a battle took place at Xerez, where Rodrigo fought for the crown, the freedom, and the faith of the Visigoths, against Tarif and Musa, Islam, and the ferocity of the Moslem. A. D. 713. Long and bloody was the contest; Rodrigo fought heroically, till the betrayer, who had invited the Arabs, with Oppas, archbishop of Seville, expecting that the foreigners would only assist one party of Spaniards against the other, went over to the enemy. The flower of the army perished together with their king, and the kingdom of the Visigoths, divided and without a master, fell under the yoke of the Mohammedans. The latter extended their arms from sea to sea, and across the Pyrenæan bulwark: they conquered Narbonne, Carcassonne, and the country on the farther side, as far as the Rhone and Lyons. Many old and flourishing cities were destroyed by them, and new ones built on the same territory. In other respects they established the constitution of things which they found; only the commander of the faithful held the place of the king. The national assemblies, the nobles, the courts of judicature, and the laws remained. The Christians obtained a toleration for their worship, and were only forbidden from speaking against the faith of Islam. The tribute, or land-tax, was a tenth part of the revenue in those towns and countries which capitulated, and a fifth part in those which were subdued by arms. The product of both was given to the lieutenant of the caliph.

The Visigoths were unable to endure the command which enjoined them to refrain from disputing the faith of the conqueror, and thereby obtain the crown of martyrdom; and the bishops in vain attempted to restrain the indiscreet effusions of holy zeal. Some who disdained all submission fled to the mountains of Asturia; these were chiefly the nobles and the sons of the nobles. From the Pyrenees a long

chain of hills stretches to cape Finisterre, the extreme point of Gallicia. Ansena, one of these hills, afforded refuge to a troop of a thousand Goths, who sought hiding places in the caverns of our Lady of Cabadonga, and acknowledged Pelayo, a distinguished warrior, as their chieftain. A. D. 718. The story is not free from the exaggerations of national vanity; yet Asturia enjoys, as the ancient asylum of the noble Goths, certain liberties which had no other origin than the achievements of her sons; and the hamlet of Gijon, on the coast, scarcely observed by the enemy, became the root of a lasting monarchy, which grew up among the mountains. The chiefs conquered Oviedo and Leon; and it came to pass, after a contest of two hundred years, that Ordungo the Second found himself sufficiently powerful to restore the royal authority at Leon. A. D. 914.

Political calamities were advantageous to the virtues and the genius of the Visigoths. A long war, waged with various fortunes, against enemies far more powerful, forced them to a glorious exertion of valor and heroism; and they witnessed, among their conquerors, arts more perfect than those of barbarous Europe, and were taught by them to know the value of the conveniences and embellishments of life. But this happened in later ages; at that time the Arab himself knew only his faith and the use of his sword. It is not certain whether the great prophet himself could read and write; and Ali, the commander of the faithful, was the first who ordered the Arabic language to be reduced to grammatical forms, by Abul Aswad Alduli, that his people might not lose, in their distant conquests, the purity of their speech. At the same period the dictionary was compiled by Chalil, and literature made little further progress under the house of the Ommiades.

SECTION VI.

THE ARABS IN HINDUSTAN.

About the same time when the caliph Walid at Damascus was informed of the calamities of the Visigoths in

Spain, he received information from other generals of conquests achieved by his arms in Eastern India. Hindustan has never withstood the attempts of foreign invaders, yet it has always offered an impenetrable resistance to the introduction of foreign manners. The laws of the country are so entirely founded on the manners of the people, or the latter have had so powerful an influence upon the former, that they have, in the course of time, and by the effect of continual use, grown into an impenetrable bulwark. To this effect not only their relation to the climate and soil have contributed; but the great interest which the numerous and dignified caste of Brahmans have ever felt in the maintenance of this system. The caste of Cshatriyas, or warriors, are interested in support of the same constitution by the enjoyment of great privileges. The mercantile order are chiefly anxious for tranquillity and the preservation of old customs; and the fourth caste, or the Sudras, are so humiliated, that they possess no political influence. The laws of India on this subject are more severe than those of Sparta with regard to slaves; in no country have the higher classes ventured more or obtained greater success in arresting the progress of the human mind.

The Brahmans had already to contend against the Samanæans and the Christians: with no benignant feeling had they beheld the colonies of Jews which were in old times settled in their country, and now the victorious Moslem brought with them the faith of Mohammed, and forced them, sorely against their inclination, to relax their severity, and to concede a greater measure of justice to degraded humanity.

SECTION VII.

FRANCE.

The arms of the Arabs, scarcely heard of a century before, now domineered from the Ganges to Narbonne; when the Spanish governor, Abderachman, enraged at the defection of the little territory of Cerdayne, carried war into

the dukedom of Eudes of Aquitaine, and into the kingdom of the Franks.

In the western parts of Europe, the Franks were so superior to all other nations; their empire so great, their ability and valor so distinguished; that if they had been overcome, neither the Lombards nor any other German or Slavonian people could have restrained the Moslem from falling at once on all sides upon Italy and Constantinople.

The kings of the Franks, since the time of Dagobert, son of that Chlotaire who held the assembly at Paris, had gradually declined in power through effeminacy, and the prodigal favor and confidence which they bestowed on the mayors of their palace, and by the effect of unfortunate contingencies, by which the latter contrived to further their own advancement. The splendor and pleasures of the court lulled the descendants of the Merovingians into a voluptuous repose: and as the mayors of the palace in the mean time omitted no exertion that could contribute to augment or confirm their power, their influence, founded on splendid merit or successful boldness, increased to a prodigious extent. The king proposed the mayors of the palace to the ecclesiastical and temporal lords at the time of election:* yet the power of this office, even in the age of Eberwin, so greatly exceeded that of the crown, that if Grimwald and Pepin d'Heristhal† had not concealed their usurped authority with greater address, they would have fallen victims, like that minister, to the jealousy of the nobles.

Pepin and his descendants, as mayors of the palace, acquired and maintained by their merit a greater than royal power, both in Austrasia and in Neustria.‡ It was thought right that the greatest share of authority should be in the

* Electione pontificum et cunctorum ducum.

† Eberwin was mayor of the palace in the reigns of Chlotaire III. and Thierri. He was an able and ambitious minister, and was at length assassinated as he was attempting to reduce Austrasia under his sway, A. D. 683. Pepin d'Heristhal succeeded him, and governed with more moderation. He was the father of Grimwald and of Charles Martel, and the founder of the Carlovingian house. He died about 712, A. D. T.

‡ Pepinus Dux Francorum obtinuit regnum Francorum per annos 27, cum regibus sibi subjectis; Ann. Fuld.

hands of those in whom the nation reposed the greatest confidence. That every thing depended on this recommendation, Pepin in his old age was persuaded; and at his death, instead of his younger son, a minor born in lawful wedlock, recommended the bastard Charles to succeed him in his important office. It was determined that the energies of the kingdom should be wielded by the hands of him who possessed the most kingly soul.

The Franks had to carry on wars in Germany against the Frisians, Saxons, Sorbians, Bavarians, valiant enemies or faithless allies; or in defence of weak dependants who stood in need of their protection against barbarians. In these expeditions the mayors of the palace engaged with alacrity: they rejoiced to find themselves at the head of their troops, and they sought occasions for war. In time of peace they also possessed the power of pardoning offences: they gave away offices, distributed vacant feoffs, and left to the king the honor of his title, the enjoyments of luxury, and the rank of sovereign in the Champ de Mai. On that occasion the prince was seated before the assembly of the Franks on the throne of his forefathers: he saluted his liegemen, and received homage from them; accepted the donative offered by the nation, and gave it to the mayor of the palace, who stood by his footstool: he divided the vacant estates according to his recommendation, and confirmed the distribution of those which were already given. He then mounted his chariot and was drawn by four oxen to his palace, where he remained till the following Champ de Mai. All matters of importance were proposed by the minister to the assembly, and the resolutions of that body were executed by him. His power was distinguished from that of the old German chieftains in these circumstances, that it continued in time of peace and was enjoyed for life; was handed down in a certain manner by hereditary descent; and extended to the administration of all affairs. The dukes of the Allemanni, of Britanny, and of Aquitania, frequently, but in vain, opposed their voices to these transgressions of constitutional forms.

But the circumstantial detail of these events is unknown: fear, indifference, political disturbances, diminished the

number of historians. These were the heroic times of Europe. Barbarians were forced to adopt civilized forms of life; forests were cut down, morasses drained; the nobility were free, and the people employed in producing the necessaries of life.

SECTION VIII.

GERMANY.

An illustrious Englishman named Winifred, who was afterwards called Boniface, introduced into the German forests the first spark of religious light. In Bavaria, he renewed, purified, and regulated the profession of Christianity, according to his own sentiments and those of the Roman pontiff. The light of the Christian faith speedily diffused itself through Franconia, Thuringia, the banks of the Rhine, and in Saxony and Frisia. While Boniface established the humanizing worship of Jesus and Mary, in the places where Stuf and Bustrich had been the objects of veneration, he assembled congregations of people in villages, which became the origin of towns.

Pope Gregory II., eager to establish and extend the authority of the pontifical chair, remarked the talents and zeal of Boniface, and bestowed on him the episcopal dignity and the office of legate. The merits of Boniface obtained for him, by the favor which he acquired at Rome, and the interest which he excited among the Franks, the bishopric of Mentz, which was established for his sake. The ancient city of Mentz, since the devastation of the barbarians, had given the precedence to the more flourishing town of Worms. A. D. 756. From thence the bishop promulgated the Christian faith according to the representations of his age, together with the authority of the holy pontifical chair, and the milder manners and ordinances of the Franks, among those tribes whom the mayor of the palace had overcome or meditated to subdue. Thus were the gospel and the law of Islam disseminated at the same time, and by similar means! Moral and religious

culture was extended through the north by means of cloistered societies, similar, but in many respects more venerable than those of the Pythagoreans.

SECTION IX.

ENGLAND.

It is remarkable that the chief part of this laudable work was carried on by men who had imbibed the zeal of holy enterprise in the remote parts of Europe, at Hy in Ireland, and at Bangor among the Kymri. While the Scots waged wars against the Caledonians, while the dynasties of the Anglo-Saxons carried on mutual hostilities and were perpetually disturbed at home by domestic troubles, which continued till the West Saxons gradually gained the preponderancy, the light of Christianity, but lately kindled, and a remnant of learning which had never fallen wholly into contempt, were more honored in Britain than in any other region. Accordingly, while the nation was insignificant in its external relations, peculiar talents and energies were displayed by individuals, which formed for themselves a theatre of action embracing nearly all the western countries.

SECTION X.

LOMBARDY.

The kingdom of the Lombards acquired greater stability after Authari the son of Kleph had obtained the government (A. D. 584.); each nobleman gave up to the king the half of his possessions, in order to place him out of the temptation to commit injustice, either from the pressure of his own necessities, or from the desire of conferring benefits upon his friends. Authari governed wisely, and fought heroically against the combined strength of the exarch and the French monarch: the Franks were less formidable in the intersected country of Lombardy than in open plains,

where the fight was decided by an impetuous attack, and the Lombards possessed stronger fortresses.

Theodelinde, the widow of Authari, chose for her husband Agilulf, the duke of Turin, and the nation adopted him for their sovereign in the Champ de Mai. A. D. 590. In his time pope Gregory I. mediated a peace which terminated the long continued hostilities of the Lombards and the Greek exarchate. A. D. 599. "What other consequence," said he to the contending parties, "can arise from your persevering enmity, but the deaths of many thousands of men, whose hands are useful to the Romans and Lombards for tilling their land?" Agilulf had also the wisdom to make peace with the Franks and Avari: his people possessed the best cultivated soil and more of the produce of industry, and it was more easy during external peace to preserve tranquillity at home among his restless dukes. Theodelinde confirmed the establishment of Christianity, which humanized her subjects, and gave them an inclination to a peaceful life. The public repose was sometimes disturbed by the robberies and treachery of the khans of the Avari, but the warlike spirits which were thus roused were shortly obliged to subside into the calm of peace. The kingdom became better regulated, and was not further enlarged.

A. D. 636. The son-in-law of Agilulf was that king Rothari, who, as we have already mentioned, compiled the legal code of the Lombards. A. D. 643. It contained at first 390 enactments, and the number was increased in the course of the next 110 years by the addition of 193 articles. It remained in force after the Lombards ceased to have kings of their own nation, and the conqueror only ordained an equal authority for the capitularies of the Franks. The law, compiled and augmented by Justinian, prevailed in Rome and in the exarchate, and hence arose that variety of foreign ordinances for which Italy is remarkable to the present day.

In the law of the Lombards theft and adultery were punished with death: murder was not a capital crime. The excessive power of the great, and the confidence of the nation in the king, seem to indicate, that it was thought im-

proper to arraign the conduct of him who had killed a man by the order of the sovereign, or had given his advice as to the method of destroying him. But whoever introduced an enemy into the country, as Narses introduced Albwin, whoever abandoned it himself, or aided a freeman in alienating himself from the republic of the Lombards, had death for his portion. On the other hand, it was not expressed that he who entered into conspiracy against the king ought to die; but it was simply declared that such an act exposed him to the risk of death. It is worthy of remark, that he who excited a disturbance in the church* was subjected to a fine of forty shillings; if any man committed the same offence in the national assembly, his penalty was nine hundred; and for any such act in the palace of the king, death was the reward. The law of war, as in other legal institutions, decreed death peremptorily against him who excited the soldiery to resist the command of the general, or other officer, whom the king had set over the troops; or who induced any part of the army to neglect their duty, or who deserted his comrades in the field of battle. The general appointed by the nation presided over the operations of war; the gastald of the king over the police and judicial regulations of the army,† and each watched over the conduct and restrained the excesses of the other.

In the estimation of their own law, the Lombards were the noblest people, and of far higher dignity than their neighbors, the Romans: the penalty for fornication committed with a Lombard slave, was a greater sum by two thirds than with a Roman. No woman was permitted to live without the safeguard of some protector,‡ or of the court. The distinction between free persons and bond-slaves was so great, that an irregular marriage was punished with death; and if a freeman was desirous of espousing his female servant, it was necessary that a cere-

* Scandalum commiserit.

† Si Dux exercitatem molestaverit injustè Gastaldus eum solaciet usque ad præsentiam Regis, aut apud suum judicem ad justitiam perducat.

‡ Mundiburdium.

mony should previously be performed, which typified her regeneration. Great as was the distinction between freemen and the lower orders, human nature itself was held in but little higher dignity that the brutes: a man who struck a mare that was with foal, was fined with the same penalty as if he had committed a similar violence towards a pregnant female slave; and for either offence the punishment was only half so great as if he had torn off the tail of a horse. The freemen were either barons or of common family, or men who had obtained only personal freedom, or such as also possessed the right of disposing of their property. Illegitimate sons were in every way distinguished from those born in lawful wedlock; but when there was only one of the latter in a family, the former inherited one third part of the estate. In the servile class, the domestic servants, who were employed in every kind of art, were distinguished from those who managed the estates, and these again from the laboring rustics. Among the latter, some were assigned to agriculture, others to pastoral employments, and severally to the care of oxen, sheep, goats and swine; and in each division the master rustics were distinguished from the apprentices. The domestic servants took care of the hawks, the swans, the cranes, and stags, that were kept as domestic animals.

Among the Lombards the word *virtus*, as among the ancients, had the sense of strength, and *solatium* was used to signify the support of armed auxiliaries,* the only consolation of the defenceless among barbarians.

To this code were added, at a later period, the feudal customs, as they were compiled by Obert-ab Orto, of Milan, under the emperor Frederic I., together with the ordinances of the pontifical chair. The whole system declined when, towards the end of the twelfth century, the cities began to be governed by particular statutes, and through the exertions of the professors of Bologna, the Roman law became every where, except perhaps in Venice, the only scheme of jurisprudence that was used for the

* Si quis homini libero insidiatus fuerit cum virtute et solatio, et subito battiderit.

completion of local ordinances. The legal system of the Lombards maintained its ground most effectually in those quarters of Sicily where it had been freely adopted.

It contained nothing that related to political institutions, because the code on which the security and property of the citizens depended, ought to be wholly unconnected with the mutable forms of government. The monarchy was given by election. On this account Agilulf took care to procure the nomination of his son Adelwald (A. D. 604.), to be his successor, twelve years before his own death. A. D. 616. The young prince became idiotical after his father's death; idiocy indeed, and the poison by which it is induced, are frequently mentioned in the history of the Lombards. Ariwald, his brother-in-law, was thereupon elected in his place. A. D. 625. Rothari, the legislator, was another brother-in-law of Adelwald. A. D. 636. Rodwald, the son of Rothari, having fallen by the sword of a man whose wife he had seduced (A. D. 652.), the nation elected Aribert, nephew of queen Theodelinde, desirous of combining, as far as it was possible, respect and gratitude towards the royal house, with the privilege of electing a king according to merit. A. D. 653. Aribert, with more paternal than patriotic sentiment, determined to leave his two sons, Perthari and Godebert, joint sovereigns; each of them endeavored, by factious intrigues, to increase the strength of his own party, and they both became the victims of their own folly. A. D. 661. Grimwald, duke of Benevento, of Godebert's party, ambitious and distrustful, because he supposed his designs to be suspected, slew Godebert; and Perthari being informed of this event flew into Hungary. A. D. 662. The genius of the Lombard government appears in the circumstance, that Grimwald, although he had conciliated many friends by acts of munificence, and had secured his personal safety by a body-guard, found it needful, in order to protect his throne, to espouse the sister of the last king. The events by which he was finally compelled to resign his right to Perthari; the imprudent joy of the people, which brought new dangers on the latter; the valor of his friend, who saved the prince at the peril of his own life; the manner in which

his foe rewarded this noble act, and the resolution of him who had performed it, rather to suffer with Perthari in misfortune, than to live with dignity and opulence in a splendid court; all these circumstances compose a romantic story, in which the heroic character of the Lombard nobles is strikingly portrayed. The Franks came to the aid of Perthari, and were defeated by Grimwald, who obtained his victory by pretending a flight, and leaving his camp well stored with wine. He afterwards reigned with such reputation for wisdom and justice, that deputies were sent to his court by a tribe of the Bulgarians, begging that he would receive them into the number of his subjects: the territory of Molise was allotted to their establishment. This multitude of nations, each of which retained some part of its peculiar language, have given origin to the provincial dialects of Italy. We find in this country vestiges of all times, of all nations, and constitutions; and if we comprise Switzerland in our survey, we have as it were an abstract or specimen of every form of government and period of civilization.

After the death of Grimwald, the court and the assembly of nobles hastened into the passes of the Alps, to receive back Perthari (A. D. 671.), who afterwards reigned with gentleness and benignity, having profited by the experience of misfortune. Grimwald having left a son, who was duke of Benevento, Perthari took care, nine years before his death, to cause his own son, Cunibert, to be named as his successor. A. D. 677. The latter was defeated by Alahis, duke of Trent; but the gentleness of his manners, and his respect for learning, and all estimable qualities, had obtained him the affections of his people. Nevertheless, under Luitbert, his almost infant son, Raimbert, duke of Turin, nephew of Perthari, by his brother, excited internal war, obtained the throne, and bequeathed it to his son, Aribert the Second. A. D. 700—701. The Bavarians having undertaken to effect the restoration of Luitbert, Aribert in vain sought to win over to his party the pope, by conceding a tribute from the Cottish Alps, whence are derived the revenues which Rome still obtains, to the present day, from Piedmont. A. D. 710. Both Luitbert and

Aribert lost their lives in the contest that ensued; and Ansbrand, a wise old Bavarian chief, was invited by the nation, together with his son Luitbrand, to leave his country, which bordered on Lombardy, in the Tyrolian mountains, and to assume the government. The latter was celebrated for many great and splendid qualities; never was the kingdom more powerful or better regulated than under his sway. He remained at peace with Bavaria and with the Slavonians of Carinthia. Charles Martel, mayor of the palace to the king of the Franks, sent his son Pepin to Luitbrand, that his locks might be shorn by the hand of the Lombard king. The sons of the nobles, among the Franks, never suffered their hair to be shorn until they had passed the age of puberty, when he who first performed this ceremony was considered henceforth as holding the relation of a second father.

SECTION XI.

THE ARABS IN FRANCE.

Luitbrand made a league with Charles Martel, and they exerted themselves jointly to withstand the conquests of the Arabs, before whose victorious arms Constantinople, Paris, and Benares trembled. The Moslem had spread themselves over the plains of Gascony; they had passed the Dordogne, and had defeated Eudes, the duke of Aquitaine; parties of Arabs had appeared on the borders of Burgundy; and already, Rainulf, lord of Die, Gap, and Grenoble, had joined the infidels; already they approached Nice, on their way to the kingdom of the Lombards, when Charles Martel and Luitbrand took up arms against Abderachman, in defence of themselves, of all Christendom, and of Europe.

A. D. 732. While the Arabs were engaged in the plunder of Poictiers, the mayor of the palace united his forces with those of the humiliated duke of Aquitaine. During a whole week the hostile armies stood in array, opposed to each other, and consumed the produce of the country. The battle was fought on a Saturday in October,

in a plain which extends between Tours and Poictiers. The Franks stood in a close and impenetrable phalanx, protected by their shields as by a bulwark, and sustained, unmoved, the onset of the infidels: then suddenly they rushed forwards and assailed the enemy. Abderachman fell, and with him the flower of his army; the remainder, yet a powerful body, retreated towards Spain. It is believed that Charles Martel could have inflicted a severer punishment if he had not been desirous of still leaving a formidable enemy to be the terror of Aquitaine. This day was decisive with respect to the future limits of the Arabian empire.

The king of the Lombards waited in the mean time with his army on the way to Nice, but the Arabs did not venture to attack him.

SECTION XII.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ROME.

Three princes had ascended the Byzantine throne in the space of one year after the death of the emperor Heraclius: Constans II., the grandson of that monarch, remained in possession of it. A. D. 641. This was the tyrant who occasioned a more irreparable loss to the arts of antiquity than Alarich and Genserich at the head of the Goths and Vandals.

A. D. 642. He carried on a war against the Lombards, in which his troops chiefly distinguished themselves by devastation, as the ruins of the formerly flourishing Lacuria long testified. In a battle against the Lombard army, a strong and gigantic warrior of that nation transfixed the body of a young Greek officer, and held it aloft upon his halbert, above the ranks; the sight of it so terrified the troops of Constans, that they immediately took flight, and the battle was lost. Constans then betook himself to Rome, and carried off all the chief specimens of the fine arts that he could find. The temple of all the gods, in which the senate had formerly been assembled, that prodigy of architecture, built by Agrippa, the friend and minister of Augustus Cæsar, was despoiled of its costly roof. After the emperor had

employed himself twelve days in these occupations he abandoned the city, bearing with him the execrations of its people and the contempt of his enemies. He afterwards exercised similar devastations in several towns of Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily, and approached Syracuse, laden with the splendid spoils of the provinces which he despaired of maintaining in their allegiance to his sway. A. D. 662. The ships, however, which were destined to convey his plunder to Constantinople, were taken by the Arabs on their passage, and the proudest remains of the ancient arts were carried to Alexandria, where they perished by means which are unknown. Constans remained six years in Sicily, where he was at length assassinated. A. D. 668.

A youth, whom the army forced to seat himself on the throne, and whose chief recommendation was the beauty of his person, was easily overcome by Constantine the Fourth, son of the late emperor. In his reign Africa was lost to the empire; and, without the aid of the Grecian fire, a composition of which napththa was the basis, Constantinople itself would have fallen before the standard of Islam. It was this Constantine who held that council, in which it was established that the Monothelites were heretics, and unworthy of Christian communion.

A. D. 685. Under his son, Justinian II., an occurrence took place at Ravenna, on the occasion of a military parade held on a Sunday, which may serve to give us some idea of the manners that prevailed in the Roman exarchate. A. D. 691. The exercises were performed according to tribes, and it happened that one body found itself aggrieved. On the following Sunday, after the celebration of divine service, they invited the soldiers of the other tribe as guests, to their houses, on the pretext of promoting a reconciliation. Each guest was murdered by his respective host, and the bodies of all were thrust into the sewers or concealed in the stables. The city remained three days in public lamentation; the baths were shut up, the theatres abandoned; every citizen sought his father or his friend; processions were ordained, and the archbishop commanded a fast, which was to be observed even by sucking infants. When the secret was discovered, the guilty tribe suffered the same violence which

they had inflicted; their houses were destroyed, and the part of the town which belonged to them still bears the name of the Quarter of the Robbers.

Soon after this catastrophe the emperor, who was a prince of ferocious character, and devoted to violent passions, was dethroned, and deprived of his nose. A. D. 695—705. Having regained his power, he caused Leontius and Apsimarus, who had governed in the interval, to be put to death publicly, and ordered the eyes of the patriarch to be put out. The nobles were executed at their own doors, or they were drowned in sacks, or melted lead was poured down their throats. A similar fate befell the chief citizens of the distant Ravenna. Johannicius, a man distinguished by rare endowments of genius, was permitted to write his last will with his own blood. He wrote, Oh God, deliver us from the tyrant! and immediately dashed out his brains against a wall.

A. D. 711. Philippicus Bardanes took vengeance on Justinian for the sufferings of humanity, but he neglected his own interest and the empire. He was surprised, his eyes put out, and Anastasius Artemius, a general of considerable talents, succeeded him on the throne. The army, instead of carrying on wars against the Arabs, forced a private citizen of Adramyttium, whose name was Theodosius, to assume the purple (A. D. 713.): he laid it aside as soon as he was permitted. A. D. 716. Leo, who was an Isaurian, and a general of no mean parts, succeeded him on the throne (A. D. 717.), and defended Constantinople more than two years against the Arabs; in the mean time pestilence and famine are said to have destroyed 300,000 men. It was this emperor who published the ordinances, decreed prematurely, and with greater purity of intention than knowledge of human nature, against the use of images in the churches; of which we shall hereafter trace the consequences.

SECTION XIII.

RECAPITULATION.

In the period which we have been contemplating, two potentates made their appearance on the political stage; in the south the commander of the Faithful, with a powerful, well disciplined, and victorious army; in the north the mayor of the palace of the Franks, clothed with the authority which his merits acquired, and presiding over the resources and strength of the French, the Burgundian, the Thuringian, Bavarian, and Allemannic states. The king of the Lombards was rather great by himself than by any extent of power that could be compared to the sway of two such rivals. England, a world in itself, was destitute of any political influence on the Continent; and the North was scarcely known.

BOOK XIII.

THE AGE OF CHARLEMAIN AND HARUN AL RASHID. —A. D. 732—841.

SECTION I.

STATE OF ROME AND ITALY.

The people of Rome had long been unwilling to receive commands from Ravenna, to be the subjects of a foreign court, and to be governed by Greeks, who were accustomed to despise all foreigners as barbarians. When peace and tranquillity had recruited their strength, the desire of throw-

ing off the yoke was awakened among them. Under the emperor Philippicus, who was not accurately orthodox in distinguishing the two natures in the second person in the Trinity, the assembly of the Roman people resolved "no longer to obey the commands of the imperial heretic, or to circulate his coinage" (A. D. 712.); and they refused permission that his statue should be erected in the church of St. John de Lateran, and ordered that his name should no longer be mentioned in the public prayers. A sedition was excited against those who were attached to the imperial party; and scarcely could the spiritual power, by means of processions bearing crosses, gospels, and tapers in the *via sacra*, moderate the inflamed passions of the multitude. The cause they had undertaken excited no hostility on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities.

The attempt was renewed with greater energy when Leo took away from the people the visible objects of their religious worship. Images were the ancient ornaments of the churches: it was not towards the dead wood or stone that the adorations of the more enlightened were directed; but the form served to lead the thoughts towards the ideal object which it typified, while to the rude and unlettered it had ever been impossible to elevate the mind to the conception of an abstract and spiritual nature. Leo, not contented with removing abuses which had been sanctioned by antiquity and were connected with the weakness of human nature, caused the images to be broken in pieces with contempt and abhorrence, and imposed his own method of representation on the consciences of all.

Gregory II., a native of Rome, who was then pope, uttered warnings to the Christian people of the West. A. D. 726. The cities and the armies of Italy loudly reclaimed against the imperial ordinance: the officers of the emperor were expelled, and independent men were elected in their places, and bound by oath to protect the party of the apostolic chair. Some provinces were desirous of choosing another emperor; but Gregory, with that presence of mind which is the trait of a great man, represented to them that as it was yet possible that the divine grace might find its way to the heart of Leo, precipitancy in their

counsels would be culpable and intrusive. It thus came to pass that Italy recognized the authority of no emperor; but the pope, as long as he lived, remained at the head of a powerful confederacy.

At this epoch king Luitbrand was waging war against the exarchate, and endeavoring to unite Italy under one monarchy sufficient for the maintenance of its own security, and over which no foreign power would have been able in future to prevail. Although some of the Lombard dukes were too independent, yet the kingdom had augmented its power. The nobles trembled in the presence of Luitbrand, who was so gracious to the inferior ranks that he may be excused for his severity towards the great. Two of his nobles had formed a conspiracy against this monarch. He led them to the chase, and in a secluded place, in a forest where he was alone with them, he upbraided them with their design, and throwing away his arms, exclaimed, "Here is Luitbrand, your king! do towards him as you will." They threw themselves at his feet. He gave them presents as the pledges of forgiveness. "The king of the Lombards," says Paul Warnefried, "was no scholar; but he was wiser than the philosophers."

Against the power of this valiant leader Gregory III. defended Rome and Ravenna by means of menaces and exhortations. In the dominions of a king the papal chair could never have attained so exalted a degree of veneration. It was fortunately filled in succession by a number of enlightened statesmen, who united eloquence and the lofty virtues of the Roman character with the dignity derived from their own office. The two Gregories were succeeded by Zacharias, a courageous man, who possessed a share of knowledge which was in those times rare. The latter was followed by the enterprising Stephen who sought the assistance of the Franks against the arms of the Lombards: Paul, though brother of Stephen, held with wonderful dexterity a balance of power between the two opposing interests; and Hadrian the Second, in the most calamitous times, was distinguished by all those imposing qualities which enable a ruler to hold an ascendency over the minds of men, and to use them as his instruments. Charlemain

collected the correspondence between these popes and his father and himself. It shows us what a preponderance they were enabled to acquire by their ability, their knowledge of mankind, and by an eloquence which was worthy of better times.

SECTION II.

THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

After the death of Charles Martel, his house became weakened by divisions; and Slavonians, Bavarians, Allemanni, and Saxons took arms in the cause of his son Gripho against the brothers of the latter. Pepin and Carloman conquered their enemy, and they availed themselves of this occasion for abolishing the ducal dignity in Germany. The house of duke Luitfried lost itself in the crowd of the nobility; and royal administrators held the office as the counts of Burgundy succeeded to the dukes and patricians. The house of the mayor of the palace could not endure the new dignities which began to rival it. The influence of the bishops was lessened by their love of arms, of wine, and of the chase: for a grave demeanor is the secret support of a power which is grounded on opinion.

A. D. 752. In this state of the French empire, in the 266th year from the time when Clovis the Merovingian laid the foundations of it, the Franks assembled themselves at Soissons and obliged Childerich the Third, the last of the Merovingian house, to lay down the insignia of royalty. Pepin, mayor of the palace, son of Charles Martel and grandson of the old Pepin d'Heristhal, was elected king of the Franks. Pope Stephen the Third confirmed, by the apostolical authority, the newly acquired power in the house of the Carlovingians.

The new king, after he had acquired the sole sovereignty by the humiliation of the nobles and the ruin of his brothers, strengthened his power by an intimate alliance with the popes, and rendered the latter great and illustrious by his victories over the Lombards. In the seventeenth year of his reign (A. D. 768.) he assembled all his dukes, counts,

bishops, and abbots, and with their consent divided the French empire between his sons, Charles and Carloman; the latter of whom died in the course of a few years, not without suspicion of having received poison by order of his brother. A. D. 771

SECTION III.

FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF THE LOMBARDS.

In the kingdom of the Lombards, after the death of Luitbrand and the short administration of his successor Hildebrand, the staff of sovereignty was surrendered to duke Rachis of Friul. A. D. 744. The latter, together with his queen Tasia and her daughter, having given themselves up to a life of devotion in the cloisters of the Benedictines on Monte Cassino, his brother Aistulf was chosen in his place. A. D. 749. Aistulf conquered the exarchate; against him pope Stephen, finding him less submissive than his predecessors, had called in the aid of Pepin, who forced the king to yield a part of his conquests (A. D. 752.); and confided them, on account of their remoteness, to the administration of the pope. When Aistulf was dead, and Rachis, satiated with the life of pious seclusion, came forth from his cloister and again sought his throne, Desiderius duke of Tuscany obtained the sceptre through the influence of the Romish see. A. D. 756.

The latter after the demise of the popes, who had promoted his fortunes, fell into a dispute with Hadrian the Second, concerning certain territories of the exarchate that were on their mutual boundaries; and at the same time afforded an asylum to the family of Carloman, who fled from the power of Charles king of the Franks. On this account Charles was the more easily stirred up by the pope to renew the war against the Lombards.

Charles held at Geneva the diet in which the Lombard war was resolved upon. With a part of his army he marched through Savoy, while Bernhard, his uncle, led the other division over the Mont Bernhard. The king of

the Lombards sought an interview with the pope: Hadrian returned answer, that he could not enter into any negotiation until Desiderius had punctually fulfilled all his demands. Spoleto, Rieti, and other places, immediately declared themselves for the strongest party. It was found impossible to resist the enemy in the passes of Suse and Novalese, where the paths had been betrayed to them. The Lombards could not support the onset of powerful bodies moving in firm array. Pavia was the central point of their defence.

When the other cities had been reduced, and Pavia cut off, Charles, on Easter day, paid a visit to the pope in Rome, accompanied by some of his dukes and counts. The nobility of Rome, with the standard of the imperial city, and the youth with branches of olive and palm, marched out, together with the whole clergy, to receive the king. The pope, surrounded by the great prelates and the Roman people, awaited him at the vestibule of the church of Saint Peter. The king, after returning thanks for the good fortune of his arms, entered into the sepulchre where the bones of the apostles lie. The pope did not neglect to obtain from him a confirmation of the gifts which the church had received from his father, and entered into a personal friendship with Charles, which they maintained through life.

The valiant Adalgis, son of the Lombard king, had abandoned Pavia and retired to Constantinople, where a brave and victorious emperor, inopportunely for his designs, died soon after his arrival. A. D. 774. Pavia, according to some, by the treachery of a princess, who had conceived a violent passion for the great Charles, according to others by the hand of a meaner traitor, was betrayed to the French king. The kingdom of Lombardy was united with that of France, and his "*Excellency Charles, the illustrious king of the Franks, and patrician of Rome,*" a title bestowed upon him by the Romans, was also declared sovereign of the Lombards.

Paul Warnefried, the chancellor of Desiderius, and the historian of his nation, three times conspired for the restoration of its independence, and proved that the vicissitudes of fortune were incapable of altering the resolutions of his

mind. His judges had condemned him to lose his eyes and hands, but Charles, in this instance, imitating Cæsar, exclaimed, "Where shall we find hands that shall be able to write history as these have done?"

Charles was sovereign of the country as far as the Garigliano, while the extensive and beautiful territory of Naples, as far as Brindisi, was maintained by Arichis, duke of the Lombards, at Benevento. This prince ruled from sea to sea, and his successors conquered the territories of the Greek emperor in lower Italy. Arichis had fortified Salerno: his magnificence, his wisdom, and justice obtained for him the admiration of Europe. Adalberge, his duchess, caused an abstract of Roman history, which was no despicable work, to be prepared.* Charles was well contented that Arachis manifested towards him the outward signs of submission. A. D. 787. In Salerno the duke received the royal commissaries, his army surrounded the palace, the young nobles, with falcons on their hands, formed rows for them through the public places, the hall was filled with the magistrates of the city, and the counsellors in their robes of state: the duke, who was seated on a golden throne, rose up and swore to be faithful to the king, to maintain peace, and to fight under his banners a league beyond the boundaries of the Beneventan territory.

In all these affairs the city of Venice, which was forming itself in the islands of the Lagunes, took scarcely any part. It possessed no territory on the continent: and while favoring sometimes the Lombards, at others the Greeks, or the French, remained free and unobserved. The Venetians seemed willing rather to favor Charles, whose greatness depended on the soul which he alone knew how to infuse into his empire, and who did not oppress them, as the old Lombard kings had done, by their continual presence.

The Liburnian coasts also acknowledged Charles. He protected Corsica against the Arabs, while in Sardinia and Sicily the latter people contended for dominion with the Greeks.

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* Historia Miscella.

SECTION IV.

RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE WEST.

Charles was already master of the peopled districts of lower Germany: the Frisians had learnt to obey his father and grandfather; the Saxons in Westphalia and in lower Saxony as far up as Hessia, under Wittekind, had often renewed their warfare, with the same ruinous event, against his arms and laws, the faith of Christendom and the manners of the French: the Sorbians had in vain attempted to aid their allies, and Gottfried, king of the Danes, had opened to them free asylums where they might recruit their strength. The Obotrites, or Mecklenburghers, favored the arms of the French: but it was Charles himself who imparted to them their chief energy. While he was conquering Italy, and dissipating the conspiracies of the Lombard chiefs; humbling the restless Vasci in Gascony, traversing the Pyrenees, taking Pamplona, and infusing terror into the Arab troops as far as Zaragoza; driving them out of the south of France, and establishing a count to the southward of the Pyrenees, at Barcelona; he never lost sight of the wilds of Saxony, but flew with his troop of Franks* from Spain to Paderborn, and having received there the obeisance of "Ibn al Arabi," damped the fire of rebellion in the west of Germany. Saxony was obliged to yield to the unceasing exercise of all the resources of military art.

Charles conquered the most cultivated and the wildest parts of western Europe. He had at the same period to contend against the spirit of freedom which yet survived in Britanny, with duke Thassilo of Bavaria, who, not without impatience, acknowledged him to be his own superior, and with conspiracies in his own house. A. D. 788. The treachery of Thassilo gave him an opportunity of uniting, under his immediate sway, the territory of Bavaria from

* Scara Francisca. Frankenschaar.

the Lech to the Ens, and from the extensive plains of the Nordgau to the feet of the Tyrolian Alps, where the confines of his own Lombardy began. He spared the life of the chieftain, who in the tranquillity of a cloister, forgot the laborious pursuits of ambition and his ill-directed patriotism. Charles drove the restless Avari beyond the Raab, and laid waste their boundaries. He pursued still farther the Wiltzes, Limones, and other Slavonian tribes inhabiting the territory of Brandenburg, in order that the unwilling Saxons might wear the yoke in the midst of subdued nations. He afterwards drew every third man from Saxony, and transplanted them into the interior of his kingdom; gave to French subjects the farms that were left vacant, and appointed bishops in the marks of Brandenburg. He was desirous of civilizing the people whom he had subdued by arms, and in future to build his government on civil order and the sacred influence of the spiritual authority.

A. D. 800. Charles, king of the French, conqueror of the Saxons, Bavarians, and Lombards; in Spain, the hope of Christendom, the protector of the islands, the terror of the Avari, as patrician of Rome the patron of the church, hastened, on the Christmas of the last year of the 8th century, from Paderborn to Rome, in order to quell a tumult which had been excited against pope Leo the Third by the nephews of his predecessor. Men from all the subject-nations, or from all the nations that frequented the capital of the western church of Christendom, were present with him at the solemnization of divine worship on the day of the birth of Christ, when Leo suddenly appearing offered him the imperial crown. The people exclaimed, Long life and victory to Charles the August, crowned by God, our great and peace-restoring emperor! and the pope knelt at his feet. In the 324th year from the abdication of Romulus Momyllus, the imperial dignity was restored by Charlemain. His dominion extended over Italy, France, Catalonia, the Balearic islands, and Friesland; to the Elbe, to the Bohemian forest, to the Raab, and to the mountains of Croatia.

SECTION V.

CONSTITUTION OF ITALY.

The great cities of Italy were governed by dukes, who sat in the courts of justice together with the bishops, abbots, counts, knights, and land-owners, and before whom the people were assembled. The law of the nation to which the accused belonged decided in criminal causes; and in local causes the law of the province where the estates of the parties were situated. We find that the abbot of Farsa, in a dispute relating to the warm baths in the Sabine country, refused the decision of the Roman laws, because the possession under litigation lay within the jurisdiction of the laws of Lombardy. He gave testimony to that effect, and was tried according to the latter code, though only one person in the tribunal was acquainted with it.

The pope possessed no estate; but he was free, and exempted from civil offices. He was elected by the clergy and the people, and confirmed by the emperor, who invested him with the administration of his territorial fieff. A. D. 816. "By this our deed of confirmation," says the act of investment, "we bestow upon the holy Peter, and on the paschalis, steward of the apostle, and universal bishop, and on all thy successors in office, the city and the dukedom of Rome, and their domain in hills and plains, as you have heretofore possessed them, with the reservation of our supreme sovereignty, without prejudice or invasion on our part of the spiritual and temporal constitution; as we desire to withdraw none of your people who fly to us from the judgment of the law of your land." The pope possessed at Rome the same power as the dukes in other cities: but he became more easily, and at an earlier period, independent of the sovereign.

SECTION VI.

CONSTITUTION OF THE KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS.

Among the Franks there was no distinction between the army and the people: and hence the military art was perfected at a later period, and the people remained so much the longer free. For the defence of the kingdom the nation was called to arms; sudden exigencies were provided for by troops which traversed the country, and there was a watch, or wardship, in each district for the local police. The land-owners were under an obligation to the defence of the country; and whoever possessed three or four allotments of land, went in person to the service of the king, while his slaves cultivated the soil: the poor, who possessed only one allotment, or none, paid for the maintenance of a warrior. Thus was formed a kind of armed representation of the people.

The military ordinances required that each man should provide himself with arms and clothes for half a year, and with provisions for a quarter of a year. The cavalry bore a shield, a lance, a sword, dagger, bow and arrows. He who was absent from the levy was punished for his neglect by a fine of sixty shillings. The count of the district led the men of his own territory. The war paid its own expenses.

The king and the lowest of the Franks lived on the revenue of their own estates. Clothed in vestments which his own wife had spun for him, Charles gave laws to the nations, and issued directions to his bailiffs for the sale of his eggs. Slaves were attached to the land, and paid a toll or land-tax for the farms that were leased out to them; and the conquered nations paid a tribute for the support of the state. These equal contributions were levied by the chamber-commissary. Bridge-tolls and road-money were paid by the Franks, but in other respects they were free from all imposts; they were indebted for their land to their own valor, and maintained it with their blood;

the king was as much under obligation to them for their bravery, as the nation was to the king for his protecting care. Presents were voted to him in the popular assembly, according to the circumstances and abilities of the givers.

The king had no legislative power: he discussed with his ministers in council what laws were necessary; and the referendary sent the projects of them to the archbishops, dukes and counts; and these to bishops, abbots, hundred-men, and bailiffs of the cities, by whom they were laid before the popular assembly, and the latter either confirmed them by raising their hands, or rejected them with murmurs. If approved of by the majority, they were afterwards ratified by the king.

The hundred-men held courts in their hundreds, and the district-counts, country-courts, in which twelve persons chosen by the people; or the distinguished men or notables, sat together with the bailiff of the diocese. Here all high crimes were tried, such as murder, burning, robbery, kidnapping, and here the causes of slaves against cruel masters, and all appeals in lesser instances. Towards the middle of May the royal commissioner came, in whose presence the bishops, abbots, counts, viscounts, hundred-men, bailiffs, and deputies from the convents, together with the kingsmen, assembled themselves. Hither all complaints were brought concerning the administration, and all causes, the decisions of which had not been satisfactory; and here unjust judges were deposed from their dignities. On this occasion the youth who grew to man's estate gave their allegiance. Asylums protected against violence, but not against the laws.

Bondsmen were allowed to leave their master in four cases; when he had attempted their lives, robbed them, given them a blow with a stick, or debauched their daughters.

Charles the Great sometimes permitted the sons of counts, who had deserved well of the state, to succeed their fathers in the enjoyment of their dignities and fieffs. His successors soon found themselves unable to refuse to any a privilege which some had obtained by particular favor. In the mean time the multitude of separate dominations, which at

length became independent, contributed more than any other form of government could have done to the improvement of the country, where they afforded so many centres of opulence and expenditure, and enabled every individual, of the meanest rank, to find protection in his own neighborhood. The necessity of such a system, which arose from the circumstances of the times, gave it an earlier establishment. The vassals of the royal domains committed their property to the protection of the holy men in some celebrated monastery.* With this view Valtellin, in the Alps, was intrusted to the abbacy of St. Denys, the abbot of St. Denys being an able protector at the court.

The monasteries were designed not only for the propagation of Christianity, the basis on which the new system of customs was erected, but for the purposes of hospitality, in an age when houses of entertainment were rarely found; and as they served for the relief of the indigent and of lepers, they obtained the favor of the king. The people sought their protection the more anxiously, as the holy men of God were observed to impose as much reverence on the court itself as on the lowest country gentleman.

Charlemain renewed the ancient, but too often violated ordinance, that the bishops should not be appointed by royal authority, but elected by the people and ecclesiastics. The servants of the church had already been exempted by his father from the jurisdiction of the counts. It was supposed that the bishops might safely be relied upon to watch over the nobles, and restrain them from evil pursuits. Their people bore arms in time of war, and their decisions in judicial matters were revised by the royal commissary.

The bishops appeared at the head of their servants and vassals in the royal army, until Charles, on the representation of many of his liege subjects, chiefly of their own class, declared that it could no longer be allowed that the particular servants of God should bear arms for the destruction of his own image; that the clergy should only appoint certain prelates to give their benediction to the arms

* Lex Carolom., 768. de homines fiscales de quolibet contracto attrahere.

of the nation, to preach the Christian doctrine, and to mediate peace; and that the king should nominate a commander to lead the vassals of the bishops. When the church became rich, the essential gave way to the accidental, and the principles of the ruling governments were adopted.

The monks endeavored to emancipate themselves from episcopal jurisdiction, being desirous, as well as other classes of freemen, to be dependent immediately on the king. Like the Lacedæmonians, they were so much the more greedy of power, as they passed their lives in the practice of strict obedience. Pepin and Charles, as they set the counts free from the authority of the dukes, with a similar view favored the exemptions of monasteries, knowing that power divided among a multitude of heads would make a less formidable opposition to the royal authority.

The whole of the north was cleared of its forests, and colonized as soon as the views of ordinary men became sufficiently enlightened to enable them to understand the interests of their own petty dominions. Nothing is to be despised which happens in its proper season; but after the erection of the palace the scaffold falls by its own weight.

We have elsewhere remarked, that it was a distinguished merit in Charles the Great, or a signal proof of his good understanding, that although wielding a power so extensive, and arms so victorious, he yet did not disdain to govern according to the laws of the land, and according to the counsel of his liege subjects. His empire consisted of a vast number of petty courts, each of which comprised a republic within itself. In each of these all the necessities of the inhabitants of the district were provided for. Pasturage and agriculture were the chief objects of care. The same Franks who conquered Wittekind, subdued in the north the sterility of nature, and waged war for their herds against uruses and wolves.

In such a state of manners every man was independent and self-sufficient. Nothing was performed in the perfection which our arts of life have attained, but each individual among the Franks could do more for himself than each of us. The present age has called forth a greater variety of

ideas: the men of those times had individually abilities for more multiplied pursuits. They may be said to have possessed the essentials of personal freedom, the foundations of which rest upon two points, on wanting but little, and possessing ability for many occupations.

SECTION VII.

THE COMMANDERS OF THE FAITHFUL OF THE HOUSE OF ABBAS.

Two years before that period, when the father of Charlemain forced the last of the Merovingian princes to lay down the sceptre of his ancestors, Merwan the Second, of the house of Ommia, lost for himself and his family the chair of the Arabian prophet. A. D. 754. Abu Abbas Abdallah al Saffah, descended from an uncle of Mohammed, formed, with the aid of Abu Moslem, a party which deprived Merwan of his sovereignty and his life. Among the Franks the family of Clovis descended into a private station; and it is believed that in the house of Montesquieu, the posterity of the founders of the French monarchy may still be recognized. Among the Arabs the house of Ommia was extirpated; even children were put to death; and the bones of glorious conquerors, commanders of the Faithful, were violated in their graves.

One prince of this family had not, like Childerich, lost the spirit of his forefathers. Abderachman Dacheli, son of Moawiah, son of the chalif Hesham, sought refuge in the remote countries of the west. His name procured him adherents. He passed the straits into Spain (A. D. 755.); defeated the lieutenant Jussuf; and assuming the title of Emir-el-Mumenin, severed this great province from the empire of the Abbassidæ. The opulence and prosperity of Spain were hereby increased, and the Arabs maintained so much the longer their dominion over it. The misfortunes and the weakness of the greater empires arise chiefly from the mal-administration of provincial governors. During two hundred and eighty-three years, the house of

the Ommiadæ reigned at Cordova over the eight provinces into which Spain was divided.

After the premature death of Saffah, his brother and successor, Abu Jayafar Al Mansur, in a fruitful and beautiful plain, on both sides of the river Tigris, built Bagdad, the future residence of the chalifs. A. D. 762.

His troops carried their victorious arms into the region, to the east and north-east of the Caspian sea, which was called Turkestan, or the country of the Turks. A. D. 763. The Turkish name, which is first known to us in the works of Mela and Pliny, is common to a number of wandering tribes in the southern provinces of the Russian empire, whose increasing population, or internal dissensions, have given rise, from the earliest times, to incursions, formidable or ruinous to the more civilized countries of the south. At this period, as among the Massagetæ, when Cyrus invaded the same region, a queen reigned over this country, which was rich in gold and in precious stones. The gifts of the Greek emperors, and the commerce of Bucharia, and of the countries farther towards the north-west, were the sources of her opulence.

While the Arabian armies extended their sway towards Bucharia, on the other side they subdued Armenia, and made incursions through Asia Minor to the shores of the Bosphorus.

In the time of Abderrachman-el-Muzzafer, who reigned in Spain, the Moslems of that country conquered the island of Crete, and made themselves masters of Candia, its new capital. A. D. 825.

When the soul, which infused energy through the French monarchy, had ceased to exist with Charlemain, Corsica, Sardinia, and the Belearic isles were rendered tributary, and forced to submit to the sway of Arabian chiefs.

In the reign of the Greek emperor, Michael the stammerer, who was scarcely able to uphold even in Constantinople the power which he had acquired by the murder of his more virtuous predecessor, the lieutenant who governed Sicily in his name excited the revenge of a powerful youth, from whom he had taken, by violence, the object of his affection, in order to bestow her upon a rich man, who had

given him a sum of gold. Other writers give a different relation of this affair, but all agree respecting the consequences. The injured youth swore that "if he lost his Homoniza, those who inflicted his misery should have to lament many similar misfortunes." His wrath was the source of more direful woes to the Greeks than that of Achilles for the loss of the fair Briseis. He invited the Arab governor of Tunis to pass into Sicily. Zindat Allah, of the Aglabite tribe, supported by the Moslem of Spain, invaded that island: the cities which were situated in the plains were unable to resist his arms; but the governors of the fortresses, and of Palermo, Syracuse, and Chasuan, held out longer than whole kingdoms; and fifty-and-three years passed before the final subjugation of Sicily.

SECTION VIII.

SURVEY OF THE ARABIAN EMPIRE.

A. D. 786. The times of Harun Al Rashid the Just, who was twenty-three years commander of the Faithful, gradually developed among the Arabs a love for the sciences, which had already begun to display itself under Almansur, the grandfather of this prince, and became still more conspicuous in the reign of his son Almamun. The Moslem soon became as distinguished for their thirst of knowledge as for their love of military glory. During the period of their splendor, the East, Africa, and Spain, assumed a new aspect. Magnificent palaces, gardens, water-works, schools, manufactories, arose in every country, and the population became greatly increased. Spain never contained a greater number of flourishing cities.

A characteristic circumstance in the conquests of the Arabs was, that whoever embraced the faith of Islam was henceforward reckoned among the victorious nation, and became as free as the conquerors themselves. The nation stood less in awe of the unlimited power of the chalifs, than of God and the prophet, whom the chalifs themselves feared. That fiery zeal which inspired them to conquer

all the south incited them to the most difficult and splendid enterprises. There was a loftiness of character in the whole nation, which became the source of magnanimous and beneficent undertakings. It is to these times that most of our proverbs and romances must be referred; and the thousand and one nights have rendered Harun Al Rashid more celebrated than his victorious march through Asia, when he displayed his terrific arms before Constantinople. The proverbial sayings of wise men have produced such an impression, that in the Egyptian battle of Lewis the Ninth, the courage of a warrior was daunted by the remembrance of one of them. The laws of this people were founded for the most part on the common principles of the understanding, and on this account maintained their influence.

The study of the sciences, properly so called, began among the Arabs with the translations which John of Damascus, or Mesne, made from the writings of the Greek physicians. The commanders of the Faithful had appointed him to this task, and they afterwards ordered translations to be made of the works of the astronomers and philosophers of Greece. In Bagdad, in Bassora, Cufa, Kesh, Nishabur, schools of learning were established. The Arabs brought to perfection the art of clock-making, which was introduced from Constantinople; and in the pursuit of knowledge entered into a noble contest with the Greeks, by which the court of Bagdad was the most adorned, while the literature of Byzantium lay buried in unfrequented libraries.

Among the western nations, the comprehensive mind of Charlemain alone possessed the taste for similar pursuits. This prince caused a school and a hospital to be erected near his palace; and he was as distinguished for his ardent thirst of knowledge as for his munificence towards those whom he considered as men of learning, and with whom he lived in habits of friendly intercourse. His plans fell, however, together with his power.

We may in general remark, with respect to the literature of the Arabians, that the Greek authors who were translated into their language were too far elevated above the previous knowledge of this people to be wholly intelligible

to them. Accordingly they admired and imitated these authors without advancing further in the more important matters. These defects were encouraged by the prejudice, that anatomy was an impious violation of dead bodies; that surgery was merely the work of the hand; and by their devotion to the wonderful and to antiquated notions, in consequence of which astrology, the interpretation of dreams, fortune-telling by the lines of the hand, and many other superstitious follies, were developed among them, and from them have descended to our times. From the influence of a similar taste they were less delighted with Hippocrates, who treads always on the path of experience, than with the more subtile Galen, who has a more learned and refined exterior. Razi Ebn Sina and Averrhoës, who were celebrated among the Arabs, have not left us so valuable a treasure as they would have done if they had confined themselves to the study of nature. We are more indebted to the Arabs for what they have preserved for our use than for what they have discovered.

In philosophy they greatly admired the profound Aristotle; with his categories, distributions, and syllogistic forms; and they learnt to distinguish words where he distinguishes things. Such is the origin of a number of controversies which took place in Europe in the tenth century, when the Arabs introduced the writings of this philosopher, whom the present age only has learnt really to understand and rightly to estimate.

They translated Ptolemy's description of the earth, and combined it with a better knowledge of the globe, and with an acquaintance with the starry heaven, which among themselves was an ancient acquisition. On these branches of science they have left us important observations, the sum of which, as far as relates to geography, is contained in the work of prince Ismael Abulfeda. Without the assistance of this author we cannot obtain an adequate knowledge either of the east or of the south, and his writings deserve a more complete and elaborate edition than has yet appeared. The measurement of a degree of latitude was undertaken by the command of Harun Al Rashid.

Our literature pays homage to that of the Arabs by the

use of many words which have passed from their language into ours; but their influence on the revival of European knowledge was on the whole disadvantageous to us. The Arabs brought among our forefathers authors whom neither party understood, and learning became a mere display of words. The admiration of Aristotle prepared a new yoke for the mind already tortured by a false interpretation of the Scriptures; and many great and celebrated authors were read without producing any effect on the mental character of the nations who admired them. Such was the state of things from the time when the emperor Frederick the Second exerted himself with the best intentions to furnish us with the whole Arabian philosophy of Aristotle; until Luther, Descartes, Locke, and Bayle, rendered the sciences popular, brought them down from the Olympian heights of the universities among the multitude, and tore the veil with which a barbarous Latinity had concealed the muses.

The Arabs were the authors of many improvements in arts and manufactures. Before the time of Charlemain they had instructed the French in the art of weaving; and they introduced into Europe many eastern vegetables. The fair of Bagdad was the chief market for silk. The mulberry-tree was first planted in Lombardy in the sixteenth century, and Hertzburg now justly exults in its manufactory of robes from the silk of Brandenburg.

In architecture, the Arabs were the founders of that style which we term Gothic, because our ancestors became acquainted with it in Visigothic Spain. It gives that expression of boldness and extravagance which seems peculiar to the oriental people. Nature is never vast enough for them. The Grecian beauty is too tame for their imagination, which demands something gigantic, mysterious, and emblematical.

As the Arabs dwelt originally under tents, so their alcassar was not a palace according to the ancient style. It contained long suites of rooms, and many single pavilions. They had fountains and water-jets even in their sleeping apartments, since their religion commanded frequent ablutions, and because in the wilderness water and shady places were regarded as the greatest of luxuries. The Romans had also gardens before their vestibules, but the Arabs were

not contented without long and straight avenues of trees. They copied, in the decoration of their gardens, the paradise which surrounds Damascus. The Chrysirrhoas, the Abuna, and the Pharphan, pour their waters from Lebanon into the same receptacle: the stream divides itself into three branches, from which a thousand winding channels flow under the shade of the finest fruit-bearing trees through a verdant plain. Many of these rivulets unite in the neighborhood of the city, traverse its streets, and form beyond it a clear and unruffled lake.

The court of the commander of the Faithful, in magnificence, in the abundance of gold, of pearls, and of precious stones, exceeded the splendor of the Byzantine palace. The sacred alcassar was reflected in the form of a vast half-moon by the Tigris which flowed under its walls. The cities of the Arabs scarcely bore any resemblance to our towns: their walls enclosed large districts of beautifully cultivated ground: many of them were surrounded by the desert: they were the markets, the places of deposit, and the asylums of the wandering tribes. Such was Shiraz and such Bassora, where festive games were celebrated. Bassora contained twenty-four districts, whose innumerable multitudes were supported by the expenditure which all the nations of the Moslem made in the neighboring Bagdad, before the court of their high-priest and prince. The mountains of Yemen were crowned with citadels, whence the people descended on terraces, covered by gardens and supported on massive walls. Abulfeda reckons a thousand cities in a single province of Arabia.

Communication was maintained through all parts of the empire by means of posts which Moawiah, the first of the Ommiade chalifs, introduced about seven hundred years before they were established in France. The same prince established a maritime force which served to connect the remotest provinces. The Arabs became victorious not so much through any remarkable skill in military tactics as by the weakness of the Christians, to which they opposed their own enthusiasm. The invention of tournaments is ascribed to them, from whom they were introduced into Italy and France, and from these countries into Germany.

A bold fanaticism was the foundation of the Arabian empire: paternal authority was its form: its character, and that of its people, rendered it great and prosperous. Should I attempt to compare the simple manners of Charles the Great with the splendor of the sultan of a thousand and one nights; the steadfastness of the Frankish warrior with the fire of the Arab; the tedious progress by which we emerged from barbarism with the sudden apparition of a new faith, an universal empire, a refined civilization among the hordes of the desert; it would be to draw a parallel between the understanding and the imagination. We behold on one side the lofty flight of souls which are elevated by a phantom above the apparent bounds of possibility; we see the fire which animated them gradually diminish, from time to time break forth again, but finally lose itself in its primitive obscurity: on the other side we observe the slower developement of reason, steadfast in its exertions, assailed by a thousand errors and passions, strengthening itself by imperceptible degrees, and at length evolving a blaze of light which imparts at the same time the power of effecting greater things, and of calculating the utmost possible attainments of the human faculties.

SECTION IX.

ENGLAND.

Soon after the time of Charlemain, Egbert, king of Wessex, educated in the school of adversity and instructed at the court of the French emperor, united the kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, which had hitherto existed separately. A. D. 827. He conquered Kent and rendered tributary Mercia, in the limits of which name West Anglia was already included. His predecessors had already subdued Sussex; he added Essex to his territory, and afterwards recieved the submission of the double court of Northumberland, hitherto divided between the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia. England and Ireland still maintained a precedence in learning over France; but the understanding of

Charles the Great was of far greater worth than the lessons which he received from Alcuin.

Already the pirates and adventurers of Denmark and Norway ventured into the Mediterranean sea. Charles, not without uneasiness, observed their increasing boldness, which portended future calamities to his country.

SECTION X.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

A. D. 741. The wise and victorious emperor Constantine the Fifth continued to wage against images the war which had been begun, and thus far carried on, by his predecessors. It was hoped that it would be the means of depriving the Arabs of one great censure which they cast upon Christianity, and of removing a principal cause of their alienation. In comparison with such an advantage as this, the loss of Ravenna would have been altogether insignificant. But after Leo the Fourth had unexpectedly terminated his short reign (A. D. 775), not without suspicion of poison, his widow Irene, an Athenian lady, during the minority of Constantine the Sixth (A. D. 780), induced either by womanly superstition or by the desire of founding her usurped dominion more securely on the good will of the monks and their partisans, gave up the undertaking of purifying Christendom from the pollution of idolatry. A. D. 787. The attempt seemed the more likely finally to succeed, because Charlemain was favorably inclined towards it.

A. D. 797. After Irene had stained herself with the innocent blood of her son, and, with an address which became her sex, had shown for some years the first example of a female government directing the destinies of the empire, she at length fell unexpectedly by a bold attempt of Nicephorus, and died of vexation for the loss of a throne which had incited her to more than one crime. A. D. 802.

Her successor, like Constantine the Fifth, whose conduct he imitated, was accused of the most flagitious vices by the

worshippers of images, whom he treated with contempt. Although he displayed great penetration and energy of character, he seems to have merited censure by opposing himself without prudence and caution to the idolatrous party, which had now attained strength and influence. All his enterprises were consequently impeded, and particularly his last expedition against the Bulgarians. A. D. 810. Neither his son Stauratius, nor his daughter Procopia, who possessed more manly energy than her husband, Michael Rangabe, maintained themselves on the throne (A. D. 811.): and fate bestowed it upon Leo Bardanes, a warrior whose character resembled that of Constantine, though he possessed greater talents. A. D. 813. The factions of monks and the revolutions of the court prevented the progress of the policy he adopted; and Leo himself fell a victim to these evils. A. D. 821. The same causes also enfeebled the unfortunate reign of Michael of Amorium, surnamed the Stammerer.

Nicephorus had preserved the dignity of his throne by sending an embassy to Charlemain while at Selz; by which he bestowed upon that monarch the title of Roman Cæsar, and intrusted to his government the western empire.

The remains of literature were neglected amid the pursuits of fanaticism; and after the profound ignorance of which the council of Irene gave indications, George, the compiler of history, Syncellus to the patriarch Tarasius, appears a prodigy of learning, though he was as deficient in correct judgment as the pious Theophanes in impartiality.

BOOK XIV.

DIVISION OF THE GREAT EMPIRES INTO SMALL STATES, A. D. 814—1073.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.

After the Arabs had erected their dominion in the south and the Franks in the north, the people of both empires employed themselves in securing the boundaries and restoring the cultivation of their respective countries.

Armed multitudes every where held the place of civil societies, and the whole power, under enterprising kings, was concentrated in the monarch: under weak sovereigns it fell into the hands of the nobles, or of some powerful individual among them; or the nation, like an ill-governed army, became the sport or the prey of foreigners. During the long peace which domestic order and external power afforded to the great empires, the nobles, who were the landholders, increased their influence by the growth of arts and manufactures in Spain and of agriculture among the Saxons. Weak administrations succeeded the reigns of Charlemain and Harun; and the nobles, especially in the French empire, remembering their original freedom, and strong enough, as they believed, to subsist by themselves, withdrew from their dependence on the court, and, dwelling separately on their own domains, sought to augment their power by arms, by prudence, by their virtues and daring exploits, and by conciliating the favor of the surrounding populace, who stood in need of a protector near at hand.

These divisions altered the nature of the constitutions: the people became separated into unconnected tribes, without general assemblies, laws, or any means of protecting

their rights against the great. The public liberty was thus undermined; its main support, the necessity of a general unanimity in the councils of the nation, ceased to exist; the councils themselves were not abolished, but the court no longer afforded protection to the people against powerful lords, who were always present, and whom it became necessary to obey.

From this separation of the people into distinct communities arose great variations in their manners and dialects. The lands became better cultivated, the greatness of the lord depending on the multitude of his vassals, and the revenues derived from his domains; but they were more disturbed by feuds. The nobles, however, were accustomed to decide the contest, for the most part, among themselves, and the cavaliers thus acquired a decided superiority in military skill.

These times excite a lively interest by the continual struggle they display between freedom and aristocratical power, and by containing the origin of a number of new states; but in the history of them it is difficult to avoid the confusion which arises from the nature of the subject.

SECTION II.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE ARABIAN EMPIRE, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EDRISIDES AND AGLABITES.

Under the chalifs of the house of Ommia a diminution of pay, attempted by Yezid III., had excited discontents in the army, which would have been immediately followed by the dismemberment of the monarchy, if any contingency had occurred to show the possibility of success in such an attempt. After the fortunate result of Abderachman's enterprise in Spain, and after the thirst of power and of riches had ceased to find their gratification in new conquests, the governors of provinces began to aim at their own exaltation.

At first the power of the commander of the Faithful decayed insensibly in the remote provinces of the empire. The evil continually approached the centre, and at length

the chalif, in his own palace, became the slave of a foreign yoke.

Edris, descended from Fatima, the daughter of the prophet, fled from Arabia into the farthest regions of the West. It seemed disgraceful to the Moslem that the posterity of Mohammed should revere a foreign house upon the throne of the Faithful, and Edris disdained longer to submit to the indignity. His son, who bore the same name, founded the city of Fez, in the fertile plains of Mauritania, and made it the capital of a flourishing state. It soon became the seat of a vast population. Its founder maintained his dominion, which he extended and transmitted to his posterity.

A. D. 805. Edris the Second yet reigned, when Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, governor of Kairwan, refused the tribute due to the commander of the Faithful; and in that city, and in the territory of Carthage, erected a new dominion, of which Tunis afterwards became the capital, Both these events happened during the reign of Harun Al Rashid.

A. D. 809. This prince was the last Emir-il-Mumenim, who performed in person the pilgrimage to the holy cities, where Islam took its rise. His successors, for the most part shut up and inaccessible in their palaces, were ignorant and indifferent with respect to the affairs of their empire, which fell under the power of court-favorites.

A. D. 833. Already, in the reign of Al-mamun, the governors of the Indian and Persian provinces had begun to refuse obedience: and the weakness of a throne, founded on opinion, when it is not filled by a man of great talents, became continually more manifest. This secret was soon discovered by the Turkish slaves who composed the guard of the commander of the Faithful, and whose personal beauty had obtained the favor of some of the chalifs, and their knowledge was speedily turned to advantage.

A. D. 822. Thaher to whom Al-mamun was indebted for the throne, under his reign acquired possession of Chorasan. Jacob, an enterprising blacksmith, son of Leit, a chief of the Soffarides, and Nasr, son of Achmed, a descendant of Saman, soon divided the empire of Persia with

the house of his sovereign, and tarnished the splendor of the chalifat.

SECTION III.

OF THE TULUNIDES.

A. D. 868. Achmed, son of Tulun, governor of Egypt, of the Turkish race, established for himself an independent sovereignty over that country: a treasure which he had discovered was the instrument of his ambitious enterprise. Not far from the ancient Memphis he founded the city of Catay, which he adorned with the mosque of the Tulunides, and chose for the place of his residence. Achmed was the father of the poor, but the object of terror to all who resisted his power. In the sixteen years of his reign 18,000 persons suffered capital punishment by his order; and even the spiritual authorities found safety only in submission. The daughter of his son Chamarujah was espoused by Motabed, commander of the Faithful. On her journey from Catay to Bagdad, she found every night ready to receive her a costly tent, decorated like the pavilions in her father's palace. A. D. 884. Achmed left thirty-three sons and daughters, seven thousand horses, and at least as many slaves, and a million of dinars in gold. But his grandson, Harun, fell in the defence of his kingdom; and Egypt, under Moktadi Billah, was again joined to the chalifat. A. D. 905.

SECTION IV.

THE TURKS BECOME MASTERS OF BAGDAD.

The chalif himself was dependent on the Turks, who were already the real masters of the empire. The physical force and the military habits of the guard, which was continually renewed by enrolling the finest and strongest youths of Turkestan, rendered their will irresistible to the effeminate court and the unwarlike multitude. Hence it happened that the chalif Mostanser was enabled, by their as-

sistance, to mount the throne which he had rendered vacant by the murder of his father. A. D. 861. Mostanser himself was their slave (A. D. 862.), and his uncle and successor Mostayin found himself under the necessity of conceding to them not merely the nomination of the captain of his guard, but also of the Emir-el-Omrah, or emir of emirs, his chief minister of state.

Against this yoke, which was more intolerable than the power of the mayor of the palace in the French monarchy, Moktadi, commander of the Faithful, had the boldness to exert his utmost efforts. He made captive Munes, the captain of the Turkish guard, who was one of the best generals of his empire, and ordered his head to be thrown among the troops as they were storming the outworks of the palace. This act cost him his life; and his brother and successor Moktader (A. D. 907.), in order at least to obtain personal freedom, was obliged to divide the guard, and station them as the best garrisons (for such was the commendation he bestowed upon them) on the boundaries of his empire. But this measure enabled them sooner to become independent. Mohammed Yezid set them the example, who, twenty-nine years after the ruin of the house of Tulun, a second time separated Egypt from the chalifat. A. D. 934.

SECTION V.

THE BUIYIDES RENDER THEMSELVES MASTERS OF BAGDAD.

A. D. 945. About the same period the Emir-el-Omrah incurred the displeasure of Rhadi, the commander of the Faithful, but the chalif soon found how little wealth and pomp can effect against real strength. The exiled minister fled to Dilem, a country in Media, and sought refuge in the camp of the Buiyides. The latter were three valiant youths, sons of one father: Buiyah had bred them up in poverty, on the produce of his fishing net, but in the remembrance that they were the descendants of the ancient Sassanidæ, the progeny of Sapor and Khosru. Each had his comrades in arms, with whom they served Mardawij and

Washmekir, chieftains of the Dilemites, and soon founded an empire of their own in Isfahan. Moaz-ed-daula, son of Buiyah, marched to Bagdad, conquered the city, and forced the chalif Moti, whom he set upon the throne, not only to bestow on one of his family the office of chief emir, but to declare that it should be hereditary in his house; to give up all power into his hands, and to content himself with the exterior forms of the royal dignity, and with a moderate stipend.

SECTION VI.

OF THE FATIMITE SULTANS AT ALKAHIRA.

A. D. 908. While the supreme sovereignty underwent these humiliations, Mahadi Obeidollah, a descendant, as he maintained, of Fatima, the daughter of the great prophet, raised his standard on the African coast, and carried on war against the princes of the house of Aglab, who reigned at Tunis. On a tongue of land which advanced into the sea, he founded the city of Mahadiah: the town covered the hill which rose in the back ground, and the summit of which formed the citadel; magnificent palaces of white marble, in which opulence and every species of luxury abounded, were bestowed by Mahadi on the companions of his fortune, and a spacious suburb afforded habitation for the populace. His reign was mild and just, and different in all respects from the faith and customs of the Arabs. "The world," as he thought, "has existed from eternity, now in one state and then in another; perpetual movements impel it forward and change its condition. Such vicissitudes will always continue, but it behoves man to enjoy life, and to make his powers of enjoyment the only limits of his indulgence." He carried his arms, and propagated his principles, into the western country, defeated the Aglabites, conquered the house of Edris, and subdued Fez.

A. D. 969. Moezz-ladin-Allah, a descendant of Mahadi, dug wells in the desert, to the west of Egypt, and his army availed themselves of these for the conquest of that country, which, since the death of the eunuch Kafur, a

wise statesman, and governor of that province, had no longer obeyed the house of Achmed. The sultan and chalif Moëzz, with fifteen hundred camels, which bore the bones of his fathers, and a vast treasure, marched to Egypt, and founded the greatest city in the world, which he called Alkahira. A. D. 972. The monarch, learned and wise, gentle and animated, founded his empire on the love and admiration of his people. Victorious captains were despatched by him to conquer Syria, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Sinai; and for two hundred years the Fatimites, or the house of Mahadi, reigned over all the country, from Euphrates to the sandy wastes of Kairwan.

SECTION VII.

THE ZEÏRIDES AT TUNIS.

A. D. 971. In one particular Moëzz displayed greater wisdom than other conquerors. He perceived that the desire of maintaining all may become the occasion of total overthrow; and that a monarch who resides in a distant capital cannot hold under his allegiance provinces, which nature, by assigning them an insulated situation, in the midst of vast deserts, seems to have formed for independent states. He consigned the western conquests of his great-grandfather to Yussuf Belkin, son of Zeïri. Zeïri, son of Manad, sprang from an ancient Arabian house: a hermit had discovered splendid qualities in his mind, and from that time he carried on war at the head of a troop of adventurers, who were devoted to him. Moëzz gave to Yussuf, son of this chief, all that he possessed on the northern coast of Africa, and the house of the Zeïrides reigned one hundred and seventy-seven years.

SECTION VIII.

THE MORABETHS IN MAROCO.

A. D. 1056. The prophet Abdollah arose among the tribes on the western coast of Africa, and taught the law of Islam in its purity. His numerous followers, with that spirit which the love of military adventures unites in those countries with religious enthusiasm, took arms under the Lamtune Abu-bekr, son of Omar, in order to obtain converts to his doctrines. The Morabeths, or "men united in faith," invaded and gained easy victories over the princes of Fez, of Segelmessa, of Saleh, Tangier, and Ceuta. After Abu-bekr, Yussuf, son of his kinsman Teshfin, reigned (A. D. 1069.), who, in the vicinity of fountains, which he had discovered in the desert, founded the city of Maroco, the scarcely accessible seat of his future empire. To this town he conducted as plentiful a supply of water as could be obtained: he surrounded it, and filled the streets with palm-trees, for the double purpose of food and of protection against the solar rays. Maroco eclipsed the fame of the ancient Fez, and became, during the reign of its founder, the capital of an empire which extended to the straits. The Morabeths fed their flocks peaceably in the pastures of Atlas, and the son and posterity of Yussuf succeeded to a secure and powerful throne.

SECTION IX.

THE SELJUKIAN TURKS.

Shortly before the foundation of Maroco, Cayem Bramrillah, commander of the Faithful, invited Togrul Beg (A. D. 1055.), the son of Michael, son of Seljuk, to assist him against the Buiyde princes, who were alike severe towards him and destitute of power against their enemies. Togrul, educated in Turkestan, like the rest of his nation,

among herds and arms, had by the latter, in the course of twenty years, acquired great celebrity. He conquered Bagdad, and gained possession of the dominion which the Buiydes had maintained during one hundred and twenty years; and for two centuries Togrul and his heroic house preserved a greater or more limited sway in Western Asia.

SECTION X.

THE SULTANS OF GASNA AND CHORESMIA.

A. D. 976. The interior of Asia was divided between two empires. Nasir-ed-din Sobochtĕkin had assembled in Chorasan a numerous band, who, inspired by fanaticism and the hope of a plentiful booty, conquered Hindustan as far as Visapur. This prince was the ancestor of the sultans of Gasna.

Mohammed, son of Anastekin, of a Turkish tribe, governor of Choresmia, a warlike and upright prince, and a lover of virtue and philosophy, took advantage of a favorable opportunity, which the internal dissensions of the Seljuke Turks afforded him, and established for himself in Choresmia an independent and flourishing dominion. A. D. 1097.

The dominion of the Arabs now contained six principal states. A great part of Hindustan obeyed the sultan of Gasna, while the Choresmian sultan extended his power over the neighboring countries of Persia, and beyond the Gihan in Mawaralnahra. The commanders of the Faithful were revered by all the Moslem except the Fatimite sultans, as the heads of their religion; but in temporal affairs the Turks of the house of Seljuk possessed even in Bagdad the supreme authority: the Fatimite sultans at Alkahira ruled from the Euphrates to Kairwan: the Zeïrides reigned at Tunis, and the Morabeths at Maroco.

SECTION XI.

SPAIN.

The revolt of the lieutenants subverted the dominion which Abderachman's bold and fortunate enterprise had acquired at Cordova for the last of the Ommiadæ. Factions in the royal house contributed to this misfortune.

We saw Ordunyo restore in Leon a Christian throne, and re-establish in his realm the laws of the Visigoths. The love of glory, religious enthusiasm, and the hope of acquiring dominion, developed military and political virtues among the Christians. The heroic age of Spain began, in which Christian knights and barons distinguished themselves in more splendid achievements as they had become less softened by the arts of peace, and as the ancient faith of the Visigoths had less abated from its original fire.

A. D. 933. Thus the earldom which had arisen at Burgos, after the failure of the posterity of Ferrando Gonzalez, its founder (A. D. 1033.), was erected into the kingdom of Castile in favor of Ferrando, son of Sanchez, king of Navarre. The descendants of the brave Gascon, count Asnar, who had crossed the Pyrenees to gain a territory from the infidels (A. D. 831.), had reigned as kings from the time of Garcia Ximenez (A. D. 837.), over the mountainous country at Navarre, and had thence extended the dominion of their house over the fruitful plains of Catalonia. It fortunately happened that the Christian power in Spain became almost united in the person of the great Sanchez (A. D. 1000.), at the time when the Arabian monarchy hastened to the hour of its dismemberment. That prince, patriotic or provident, fearing the evils which might arise if his posterity attained too early to extensive power without first becoming great by their virtues, bequeathed only Navarre to his first-born (A. D. 1035.); he gave Castile to Ferrando, who inherited Leon by marriage, and of the baronies which lay on the river of Aragon, and in the neighboring mountains, formed for his illegitimate son Ramirez

a new kingdom of Aragon, which, under a succession of great and fortunate princes, attained to the rank of the first state in Spain, and united all the rest under its dominion.

Bernhard, the count whom Charles the Great had established at Barcelona, descended from the house of the earls of Aquitaine, a gallant and accomplished knight, became independent according to the spirit of the succeeding times (A. D. 864), and under Winifred, one of his descendants, the league of fealty to France was broken off. The Catalonians were distinguished by commerce and warlike adventures through the whole Mediterranean sea. Their count Raymond Berengar obtained by marriage the throne of Aragon. A. D. 1137.

At Leon and Burgos, at Pamplona, Zaragoza and Barcelona, the kings and counts of the Christians encroached upon the divided emirs. Heroism and enthusiasm animated both parties, but the want of union seems to have been greatest on the side of the Arabs. The latter became sensible of their weakness, and resolved to invite Yussuf the Morabeth, founder of Maroco, to their assistance. A. D. 1091. He came to their camps on his thickly-mailed camel, and the Morabeths, animated by the fiery zeal of a new form of faith, disappointed for a time the Christians of their victory, and united Mohammedan Spain under the banner of Yussuf. They carried Motamed, son of Mohammed, the great emir of Seville, prisoner across the Straits: poetry was his solace during many long years of captivity; and his daughter, by her skill in the art of embroidery, procured for him the means of softening the remainder of his life.

In Spain the contest became more violent. The enemy against whom the Christian kings had now to contend, was lord of all the countries from Atlas to the mountains of Castile. His power was new, and not yet enervated or weakened by the effect of time and negligence.

SECTION XII.

SICILY.

While the empire of the Arabs was falling into a number of small states, they completed the conquest of Sicily, in which they had been engaged for fifty years, by taking the city of Syracuse. Of this capture we have the following account from the pen of an eye-witness (A. D. 880.): "Theodosius, the monk, sends his salutation to Leo, the arch-deacon. We have held out ten months, during which time we have fought often by day, and many times by night, by water, by land, and under the ground. We have left nothing unattempted against the enemy and against his works. The grass which grows upon the roofs was our food, and we caused the bones of animals to be powdered in order to use them for meat. At length children were eaten, and terrible diseases were the consequences of famine. Confiding in the security of our towers, we hoped to hold out until we received succor: the strongest of our towers was overthrown, and we still resisted for three weeks. In an instant, when, exhausted by heat, our soldiers took respite, a general storm was made on a sudden, and the town was taken. We fled into the church of St. Salvator: the enemy followed us, and bathed his sword in the blood of our magistrates, priests, monks, old men, women and children. Afterwards the most noble of our people, a thousand in number, were put to death before the town, with stones, whips and clubs; the governor, Nicetas of Tarsus, half flayed alive, with his entrails torn out, was beaten to pieces against a stone; all the great houses were burnt, and the capitol pulled down. On the day when they celebrate Abraham's sacrifice (viz. the Baïram), many of them wished to burn us with the archbishop, but an old man, who possessed great authority among them, protected us. This is written at Palermo, fourteen feet under the ground, among innumerable captives, Jews, Africans, Lombards, Christian and unchristian people, whites and Moors."

Even before this time the Arabs had molested the coasts

of Italy; but they afterwards carried on their enterprises with greater effect: they levied contributions on most of the towns, and several times threatened Rome. From Fresne, not far from Arles, where they had fortified themselves, they became the terror of Piedmont and of Provence; and they carried their predatory incursions as far as Upper Burgundy and the Pays de Vaud.

We have thus rapidly surveyed the empire of the Arabs, which extended from Gasna, where the sultans persecuted the worshippers of Brahma, to the mountains on which the Moslem fought against the Spanish knights of Christendom; and from the deserts of Maroco, to the heretofore peaceful lake of Geneva, which was now no longer protected by the Alpine barrier.

SECTION XIII.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE OF THE FRENCH.

Charlemain left to his son Lewis the Good the empire of the Franks under the same constitution with which he had received it from his father Pepin. A. D. 843. The spiritual and temporal lords and freemen, assembled in diet, elected the king, who swore to "observe towards his liege subjects all that a king who is true to his duty ought;" and it appears that the bishops considered it as their office to observe that his actions corresponded with his oath.

Charles and Lewis were desirous of bequeathing a kingdom to each of their sons: it was intended that neither should inherit any thing in the realm of the other, and that no vassal should serve two kings. How could they hope that the genius and plan of such a system could be maintained? It was ordained that the younger brother should never make war or peace without the consent of the elder, that he should constantly pay him respect, and that the latter should never abuse his prerogative. Neither of his brethren was allowed to marry without his approbation, and they were ordered to present to him annual gifts. The understanding of Charles, perhaps, comprehended the unnatural condition of great monarchies; but why then did he

not suffer Adalgis to retain his dominion at Pavia? and why was he not contented with civilizing the Saxons?

The system of partition was so little in unison with human nature, that the good Lewis caused the eyes of his nephew Bernhard, king of Italy, who could never become formidable to him, to be put out, in order to reduce the kingdom of the latter under his own sceptre. A. D. 818.

A year before this act Lewis had divided his kingdoms between his sons, without considering that the number of his offspring might increase. A. D. 817. His second wife Jadith, to whom he was much attached, afterwards bore him a son (A. D. 823.), and he appointed the latter a portion between the dominions of his brothers, comprising the countries of Rhætia and of the Allemanni on both sides of the Rhine. A. D. 827. The brothers, unwilling to surrender any part of their possessions, and greedy of absolute power, rebelled (A. D. 831.), accused their stepmother of a criminal connection with Bernhard, count of Barcelona, and deposed their father from the throne (A. D. 833.): but the jealousies which inevitably sprang up among them occasioned his restoration. A. D. 834. It would be a tedious and useless task to relate all the consequences of the partition. The emperor died consumed with vexation, and grieving for the misfortunes of his house. A. D. 840.

His three sons and the descendant of the fourth were in arms against each other. A sanguinary battle near Fontenay (A. D. 841.), in the territory of Auxerre, induced them to give way to the pressing instances of the French lords, who were desirous of a final partition; and at Verdun, the empire of the Franks was finally dismembered. A. D. 843.

Lothaire, the eldest son of Lewis, on whom the imperial crown devolved, obtained Italy, from the possession of which that crown appeared inseparable, together with a long row of baronies between Germany and France, by which, according to the ordinance of his father and grandfather, he was placed in the vicinity of both his brothers, but was in reality the weakest of the three. The kingdom

of Lotharingia extended from Italy, and advancing through the countries of Valais, the Pays de Vaud, Varaschken, Scodingen on the Jura, and Rhætia, became narrower on the Rhine, and following the Moselle and the Maese, lost itself in the Low Countries. It was exposed to the enterprises of the Arabs of Sicily and Spain, of the Greeks in lower Italy, of the kings of Germany and France, of the restlesss Saxons, and the piratical Normans.

In Germany, Bavaria was the chief seat of the dominion of Lewis, whose kingdom comprehended the Allemanni and the Saxons, and bordered on the brave Avari, the Moravians, and the Tchechi in Bohemia, the Sorbes, Linones, and Wends, who concealed in marshy forests, or behind lofty chains of mountains, their restless independence, and often unexpected enterprises. Hence the king was obliged to observe perpetual vigilance, and to maintain a military spirit among his people; and he was forced to leave to the dukes and margraves on the menaced confines a sufficient power for adopting measures of defence in sudden emergencies. The same methods indeed were necessary for preserving authority in the interior; for the Saxons and Allemanni bore unwillingly a yoke which held them in subjection by severe laws.

Charles the Bald was king of Carlingia; for so the kingdom was termed to which the greater name of France was now limited. Pepin, nephew of the king, still inherited Aquitaine, the territory of his early deceased father; but he was soon despoiled of it by Charles.

The treaty of Verdun is the key to a great part of the history of these and the succeeding times. The kingdom of Lotharingia, which, on this side of the Alps having no natural boundaries, was subject to frequent changes, gave rise to a series of wars and pretensions, which are not yet decided between the Germans and French, whose institutions, manners, and languages, seem accidentally to pass into each other on these confines. The power which the king of Germany was obliged to leave in the hands of his nobles was the source of their independence and unlimited authority over the people. France might have formed its monarchy with greater consistence and stability,

but it was degraded by a series of weak kings from the time of Charlemain, without any new mayor of the palace to maintain the unity of the nation.

SECTION XIV.

THE KINGDOM OF LOTHARINGIA.

The kingdom of Lotharingia came to an end in the course of the first generation. The emperor Lothaire, as if pursued by the shade of his father, against whom he had been the first to raise a rebellious hand, found no peace until he had given up all his possessions, and had taken refuge in a cloister, where he died before he had reached his sixtieth year. A. D. 855.

Wars were carried on among his sons, until by the convention of Orbe, in the Pays de Vaud, Lewis obtained for his share the imperial crown (A. D. 859.), together with Italy, and its bulwark Rhætia; Lothaire the Second, Burgundy on this side the Jura, Alsace, and Lorraine; and Charles, the old Gallic Provence, and the country reaching to the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone. Neither of these princes transmitted his dominion to his posterity.

Lothaire the Second, the victim of criminal love, a perjured and unfortunate prince, died without any lawful heir (A. D. 868.), and his uncles, Lewis and Charles, to the exclusion of his brother the emperor, entered into a treaty for the partition of his dominions, which in the course of a few years terminated, as it often happens with such proceedings, to the advantage of the most powerful party, viz. the king of Germany. A. D. 879.

The dominion of Charles of Provence had been previously divided, after the démise of that prince without heirs, between Lothaire the Second and the emperor Lewis the Second: A. D. 863. On the death of the latter the elder branch of the Carlovingian house became extinct, and the king of Germany possessed himself of the Rhætian territory (A. D. 875.); but Italy and the imperial crown, which lawfully devolved on him, were snatched from

him by the craft and violence of his younger brother, the French king Charles. This prince was in all other respects his inferior, but had the advantage over him in power, and in the capability of adopting any measures that might lead him to the ends of his ambition.

SECTION XV.

THE CARLOVINGIANS BEGIN TO LOSE THE EMPIRE.

When both the brothers were dead, and the German princes were preparing themselves for the invasion of Italy (A. D. 876.), Lewis the Stammerer, son of Charles of France, by his great generosity in bestowing earldoms and abbacies, obtained the inheritance of his father. A. D. 877. He held it half a year, and died, not without a suspicion cast on those lords whom he had neglected to conciliate (A. D. 878.); or who were discontented with possessing their long exercised power in any other name than their own.

The empire of the Carlovingians from that time fell into departments which, as they before belonged to brothers, now came into the possession of foreigners. Lewis the Stammerer died in April; and in October, twenty-three Burgundian bishops and archbishops assembled at Mautaille in the territory of Vienne. Doubts were entertained concerning the legitimacy, and on more secure grounds concerning the capacity, of the son of the late monarch. Pope John the Eighth, who four years before, by his own arbitrary counsel, had presumed to crown king Charles emperor, who had no claim by birthright, began now to decide the election of a bishop at Geneva without consulting the archbishop of the same church, who resided at Vienne. Apprehensions were also expressed respecting the restless Bernhard, count of the Goths or of Languedoc, as well as the power of count Conrad of Upper Burgundy and of the Arabs and Normans. In this conjuncture, after the usual council of the nobles had met, the prelates invited Boson, count of Vienne, a cousin of kings, and brother of duke Richard of Burgundy, a generous and popular no-

bleman and a friend of the church, and introduced him with the title of king, as their "*upright patrician and protector; their accessible, beneficent, and prudent lord.*" It is said, indeed, that Irmengard, daughter of the emperor Lewis the Second, whom Boson had carried off, had prevailed upon him to elevate her to the throne; and that he had in part forced and in part won over the bishops to further his project. He assumed, like an able master, the appearance of irresolution; but after being entreated for three days, and after every important member of the assembly had been induced to declare his opinion, he assented to become "by the grace of God, and for the advantage of his church, king of the Burgundians;" in which quality he was afterwards crowned by the bishop of Lyons. A. D. 879.

Nine hundred years have since elapsed, and a part of the Burgundian kingdom, which has been united to France 345 years, has never from the time of Boson been incorporated into the body of the French monarchy.

Italy, or the Lombard kingdom, vacillated between the German and French Carlovingians, and fell into long continued disorder. The imperial authority had so fallen, that a duke of Benevento dared to take Lewis II. prisoner; and the Romans refused to ask any ratification for their newly-elected popes.

A. D. 880. Charles the Fat, son of Lewis the German, succeeded indeed in uniting the imperial crown and the Lombard kingdom with the dominion which, after his brother's death, he had inherited from his father: and the same prince, after the demise of the eldest son of Lewis the Stammerer (A. D. 884.), became king of the French during the minority of his infant brother, Charles the Simple. It was from him that Boson received his kingdom as a fief. A. D. 885. But without the aid of Eudes, count of Paris, and Gosselin its bishop, that capital would have fallen a prey to the piratical Normans, against whom Charles was as little able to protect the Low Countries, as he was to prevent the Arabs from disturbing Italy. The slave of factions in his court, Charles gave unequivocal signs of periodical insanity, and was deprived of his faculties by violent head-

aches. From the throne of Charlemain, on which he was the last prince who sat, he was deposed by the powerful individuals of his empire (A. D. 887.); and was maintained by the charity of a monastery and the indulgence of his successor. With him was lost, entirely and irrecoverably, the unity of the empire of the Franks. A. D. 888.

Arnolf, the illegitimate son of Carlomann, the brother of Charles, ascended the throne of Germany. Eudes of Paris, sprung from a house which some deduce from the Saxon Wittekind, but more certainly the son of Robert, for whom a heroic defence of his country against the Normans had obtained the surname of the Strong, was declared king by a great part of France. After Boson's death two kings arose in Burgundy: Lewis the son of Boson, and Rudolf, son of the powerful count Conrad, who had assumed the crown at St. Maurice among the mountains, and was acknowledged on both sides of the Jura and in Savoy. As Boson had severed Burgundy from France, so it now became divided internally, and the nation was never again united under one head.

In Italy, duke Guy of Spoleto, who had even turned his ambitious projects towards France, contended with duke Berengar of Friul for the restoration of the throne of Lombardy. That country became incapable of freedom and subordination; the pope, too weak to unite it, could only hinder its union under another head; and Italy was divided into a number of baronies, the more powerful of which took the weaker under their protection. A heroic age like that described by Homer, the same popular manners, a similar authority in the priesthood, the same prevalence of passions and rude simplicity, again displayed themselves.

The throne fell gradually into ruins; a new movement among nations shook the political fabric, which had scarcely been raised on the recent foundations of civil order.

Such, it would seem, was the destination of Providence. Neither Guy of Spoleto was wanting in courage, nor his son, the excellent Lambert, in virtue; nor did Berengar fail in any qualification that was likely to unite under his sway the best and greatest of his nation; and on Arnolf rested the heroic spirit of the first Carlovingians. But a premature

death carried off the princes of Spoleto: the duke of Friul contended fruitlessly against factions: Arnolf left to a child seven years old a doubtful sovereignty over the restless nobles of Germany; while, after the crown of France had descended from Eudes to its legitimate and incompetent heir Charles the Simple, that country also became the prey of anarchy and all its evils.

SECTION XVI.

THE HUNGARIANS.

While the Arabs were laying waste the southern coasts, and the Normans infesting all the western shores, a nomadic nation from the mountain-plains between the Volga and the Don, strangers to the civilization of Europe, forced its way into the interior. The Utzes in southern Siberia had forced the Petchenegers to abandon their ancient abodes on the Ouralian chain; and the Petchenegers had expelled their neighbors the Madshares, and driven them across the great rivers of the East. These hordes wandered from the banks of the Don as far as Kiow, and turning to the south-west, their progress in the former direction being opposed by the Russians, passed at length over the Carpathian chain, and descending in the vicinity of the mining towns, arrived in the plains of Pannonia, which were inhabited by the remnants of many nations. Some tribes of the Avari went over to them, and others abandoned the country. These new inmates in Europe were called Ugres, Ungres, or Hungarians; a term which means foreigners. They still maintained among themselves the name of Madshares.

Scarcely had their princes of the house of Arpad divided among them the newly conquered land (A. D. 897.), when Arnolf, monarch of the Germans, demanded their aid against the king of the Moravians, who was master of western Hungary, and molested the eastern quarters of Germany. Their friendship was courted by many nations. They were the object of dread among all civilized com-

munities, and they forced the Germans under Lewis the Fourth, the child of Arnolf, to pay them tribute.

A. D. 912. The Carlovingians lost sight of Italy and were deprived of the crown of Germany. At the demise of their infant king, the German princes abandoned the house of Charlemain, in order to elect a monarch who might protect the growing civilization of their country against the inroads of barbarous hordes. With this view they united, as far as the times permitted, an adherence to the old custom of confining their choice to the relatives of the royal house; accordingly, not only Conrad, who was elected at this conjuncture, but almost all the German monarchs down to the middle of the thirteenth century, have been in some manner related on the female side to the family of Charles the Great.

In the mean time, Otho duke of Saxony, a warrior of rare talents and address, reduced Thuringia under his administration, and extended his power on the Elbe, where his son Henry founded Meissen. Conrad found it difficult to maintain the royal authority over the last named prince, and over Arnulf the duke of Bavaria.

At the same time, Upper Germany was infested by the Hungarians, who plundered the country to the borders of Lorraine, and advanced almost far enough to meet the Normans. The latter oppressed the seacoasts, while Saxony was threatened by Slavonian hordes, who advanced from the north-east, under the name of Wends.

SECTION XVII.

THE AGE OF HENRY I., KING OF THE GERMANS.

A. D. 919—936. Conrad, before his death, perceived that the skill and valor of an able prince were required to protect his country against the hordes of barbarians who threatened it; and patriotism overcame his attachment to his own family. Instead of his own brother, the duke of Saxony was elected, by his advice, to the throne of Germany.

King Henry delivered the empire from its Hungarian and Slavonian invaders; and was the author of regulations by means of which the country obtained security for the future, and became animated in all its parts with a new principle of life.

At the same period, the north of Italy was subject, as far as the spirit of faction permitted, to king Berengar. The nobles, unable to endure the restraints which the great talents of this prince opposed to their authority, called in the aid of Rudolf the Second, king of Burgundy. The latter was defeated on the Larda, but he renewed the stratagem practised eleven centuries before by Hannibal in the same countries. A. D. 923. While the victorious army was on the pursuit, it was surprised by Boniface of Spoleto, nephew of Rudolf, who fell upon it from an ambuscade: at the same time the king of Burgundy, returning to the encounter, defeated Berengar: and the latter was soon after assassinated by a traitor who owed him the greatest obligations. A. D. 924. His allies the Hungarians took revenge on Burgundy; they passed the Jura and spread themselves as far as the Gothic districts near Toulouse.

The Romans disposed of the pontifical chair according to the will of the powerful counts of Toscanella and Spoleto. Political intrigues, and the passions of women, placed each fortunate competitor on the sacred throne: youths and even boys ascended it; the sons of popes became their successors, while others suffered death by the most atrocious violence. All respect for civil order seemed totally lost; yet licentiousness did not occasion so many discontents as the political errors of some of the popes. In the meantime, the pious zeal of ecclesiastics scattered the seeds of religious faith among the barbarians who were devastating Europe, to the farthest limits of the north.

The flourishing dukedom of Benevento suffered internal disturbances in consequence of a partition, and was reduced to a state of great weakness; of which, however, no advantage was taken, the adjoining Grecian province being still more exhausted, and the commotions in other countries producing calamities not less depressing to their power.

In France the name of Charles the Simple yet appeared for a time at the head of all decrees: his kingdom was diminished by the new royalties of Boson and Rudolf; and his throne, shaken at the same time that it was upheld, by Richard of Burgundy, Alain the Great, duke or king of Britanny, the bold and crafty count Fulco of Anjou, and count Baldwin of Flanders, who wholly disregarded the temper of the times in which he lived; it was brought into the most imminent peril by the conquests of the Normans.

SECTION XVIII.

THE NORMANS AND RUSSIA.

Harold Haarfager had become sole chieftain on the Norwegian coast. While the Finns obtained permission, by paying a tribute of hides, feathers, and cordage, to pursue the chase, and to fish in the farthest regions of the north, the inhabitants of the morasses collected their strength at the feet of the Norwegian mountains, to defend their freedom and their herds against the people of Ewenaland.* The chieftains of the coast, weary of wretchedness and servitude, migrated to seek liberty and opulence by adventurous exploits in distant lands.

One of these adventurers founded the Russian empire. The Russians had proceeded from the countries bordering on the Black sea, and had lost themselves in the Scythian forests: they had driven out or subdued the Finnish tribes, and founded the great and flourishing cities of Kiow and Novgorod. To the southward they waged war with the Chazares, a Turkish tribe on the Black sea, and on the coasts of the Baltic, against the Waraegers, a Norman nation. In the interior of their country factions prevailed, and the government of the laws was too refined for their manners. Accordingly Gostomysl, the governor of the town of Novgorod, counselled them to seek men from abroad, who might be capable of maintaining order in their

* The northern district of Sweden.

state. They sent to a tribe of Waraegers, and invited Rurick, Sinaus, and Truvor, three heroic brothers; to whom Kiow, already pressed by the Chazares, soon submitted itself. A. D. 862. Scarcely had the warlike hordes of Russians become united among themselves, when they gave laws to the Esthonians and Livonians. To the south they were not contented with defeating the Chazares, but, by their powerful fleets, inspired terror into the Byzantine emperor.

These were the exploits of Rurick, Igor and his house. In the meantime his countryman Ingulf founded, in the distant Iceland, a republic, which continued to be governed by twelve lagmans, or judges, and to enjoy liberty regulated by laws.

Meanwhile the king of all England, now united under one head, was unable to defend his coasts against these pirates. They often burnt the rising town of Hamburg, and carried devastation up the Rhine, the Seine, and the Loire, into the heart of France. Italy was in doubt whether she had more to fear from the enterprises of the Normans or of the Arabs.

One of their leaders, Rollo, son of Rainwold, count of Söndmör, marched into the interior, and conquered the fertile territory of Neustria. A. D. 912. Charles the Simple thought himself fortunate that this chieftain was contented with such an acquisition, and deigned, under the title of duke, to receive Normandy as a fief from the French crown.

SECTION XIX.

KING HENRY I. AND HIS SON OTHO.

The nations of Europe were in this situation when Henry duke of Saxony ascended the throne of Germany. He paid the tribute to the Hungarians, but he surrounded the hamlets of the Germans with walls and ditches, and enacted that the tenth man of every village should remove into the neighboring town; that a third part of the produce of the vicinity should be protected in these positions; that the

royal courts should be held there; that certain trades should be appropriated to the burgesses, and that honors and fiefs should be attainable by them. Asylums were thus established for the protection of the useful arts, and the work of European civilization, which Charles the Great had begun by the influence of religion, was completed by assembling the people into towns. Greece would have reckoned the Saxon Henry among her gods.

Henry did not abandon the plan of Charles, which was singularly adapted for promoting the civilization of barbarous nations. He founded bishoprics on the borders of the Slavonians. Corporations and the authority of priests were a useful bulwark for the growing civilization of the people; and no intelligent prince makes regulations with the intention that they shall last longer than the existing circumstances.

To the same monarch, as good institutions of unknown origin are often connected with celebrated names, the margravates at Pechlarn in Austria, and those in Stiria, in Lausitz, at Meissen and Brandenburg, are commonly attributed. Names and families became henceforward better known.

Henry is said to have given to the equestrian games of the Arabs the form of the celebrated tournament.

The virtues of this prince confirmed his power; and excited emulation, as the only way to obtain his favor. Being fully prepared in his plans, he waited till the Hungarians, after the expiration of the truce, demanded their tribute with arms, and he defeated them. His son and successor, Otho, obtained a still more important victory. The invaders were reduced to the necessity of conquering from nature, what the wise provisions of Henry had withheld from their arms: some years of peace followed, and agriculture began to appear among them.

A. D. 936. At the death of Henry, the lords and the freemen of Germany assembled themselves at Aix-la-Chapelle, a favorite place of Charles the Great, which that prince had rendered one of the chief cities of the North. Here the chiefs elected Otho, the son of the late king; the people held up their hands and testified their consent.

After Otho had defeated his rivals among the nobility, the authority of a powerful monarch was felt through all Germany. He gave Saxony, the land of his fathers, which required the presence of a chief, to the brave warrior Herman, of the house of Billungen; and bestowed on his own relations several provinces of the interior. His son William became archbishop of Mentz; Bruno, his brother, archbishop of Cologne; his brother Henry, and a son of the latter, who bore the same name, were dukes of Bavaria; Ludolf, the eldest son of the emperor, was duke of Swabia; Conrad, son-in-law of the same monarch, became duke of Franconia and Lorraine; and it is said that the government of Thuringia was also confided to the above-mentioned William of Mentz. Thus the principal archbishoprics, and the four great duchies, were partly in the house of Otho, and partly in the possession of men on whose fidelity he could more securely confide than in that of his nearest relations: for the latter often employed him in suppressing their plans of independent government. The whole activity of the king, and the counsels of his second consort, Adelaide of Burgundy, were scarcely sufficient to maintain good order in this monarchy, by far the most powerful of Christendom.

SECTION XX.

THE IMPERIAL CROWN DEVOLVES ON THE KINGS OF GERMANY.

Otho obtained the imperial crown, which from his time has remained constantly in the possession of the Germans. Even when circumstances have rendered the pilgrimage to Italy and Rome impracticable to the German monarch, the empire has never been bestowed on any foreign prince.

Rudolf, king of Burgundy and Italy, had acquired by faction, and soon lost, the crown of the latter kingdom. Count Hugo, of Provence, had completely driven the descendant of Boson from the kingdom of Arles. A. D. 926. This nobleman was a crafty, enterprising man, who

revered the priesthood, and gave himself up without reserve to the pursuits of pleasure and ambition. He had made himself master of Italy (A. D. 927.): the nobles who had assisted him, surrounded with spies, and speedily and severely punished for every act of disobedience, soon felt how much their condition was altered for the worse. Rudolf, satisfied with the surrender of the remains of the Arclatensian sovereignty, which Hugo had agreed to yield to him, gave himself no further concern for the crown of Italy (A. D. 931.): and the latter chief reigned over that country sixteen years against the will of the nation. After his death, Berengar the Second, sprung from the house of the counts of Ivrea, obtained possession of the empire, and exercised a still more tyrannical government. A. D. 945. Such were the circumstances which induced Adelaide, widow of Lothaire, the son of Hugo, supported by the house of Este, to invite Otho to her assistance. A. D. 952. The king of Germany married her, and received the crown of Italy.

The pope found himself exposed to dangers which rendered the aid of the German monarch not less necessary to him. Romanus Lacopenus, a man of great talents, who had by fraud and perjury ascended the imperial throne of Constantinople, had wholly abandoned the remains of the Greek dominion in lower Italy to the Arabs, who extended their incursions to the suburbs of Rome itself. Count Albert, of Toscanella, with the assistance of the people, was scarcely able to defend the city against their enterprises. At this conjuncture, the remembrance of ancient liberty surviving still among the Roman people, they established, under the protection of the count, a consulate, which was intrusted to the patricians, while the prætorship was administered by plebeians, and twelve noblemen possessed of riches and authority were named senators. Yet the spirit of faction was too powerful, and Berengar entered Rome. John the Twelfth, or Octavian, the son of Alberich, now invited the king of Germany, the most powerful sovereign whom the church could choose as her protector. This monarch already held the chief sway in Burgundy, under the weak administration of Conrad, son of Rudolf; he gave

princes to the Tchechi in Bohemia, and dukes to Poland; he maintained the tottering throne of Lewis the Fourth in France, and received the homage of the king of Denmark.

Otho marched into Italy; the Lombards placed upon his head their crown (A. D. 961.): how, indeed, could they have withheld it? The eyes of Berengar were put out, and he was led across the Alps. Albert, his son, fled to Fresne, and sought protection among the Arabs. The Germans marched down through Italy, and the people, as in the time of the Cimbri, admired their high stature, their strength and intrepidity; even the harsh tones of their language inspired terror. A. D. 962. Otho was received at Rome as Charlemain had been, and accepted the imperial crown.

When John perceived the great power of this monarch, he regretted that he had delivered his country into the hands of the Germans. He accordingly applied to Albert, and sent an embassy to the Greek emperor, the young and effeminate Romanus; he appointed one of his friends bishop, and sent him, with the pretence of preaching religion to the Hungarians, but in reality to excite a renewal of the war against Germany. John had no reluctance to engage in the war himself, but he was too much devoted to the beautiful Raynera. The solemn visits to the graves of the apostles were an odious ceremony to jealous husbands.

When Otho was informed of these proceedings, he sent the bishops of Naumburg and Cremona to Rome, and while these ecclesiastics upbraided the Romans with their want of fidelity, many German knights declared themselves ready to maintain, by fair combat, that the emperor Otho had never given any just reason for such a defection. John, who saw that his schemes were detected, received Albert into Rome; but a strong faction declared itself in favor of the most powerful party. The city was besieged, and the pope, together with Albert, sought safety in flight; but the people bound themselves to the emperor by an oath never to receive any pope without the knowledge and consent of himself and his successors in the German empire. A. D. 963. After three days, the emperor summoned the bishops and lords, and heard the accusations against John, "that

he had sold bishoprics, performed the inauguration of a priest in a stable, castrated a bishop, appeared with cuirass, helm, and sword, drunk to the health of the devil, invoked Venus, and lain with the concubine of his father." On these weighty charges, the emperor confirmed the deposition of John, and the election of a successor, who was named Leo the Eighth.

The deposed pontiff made it known that the treasures of the church were in his hands, and that he was ready to reward those who now showed themselves faithful to his cause. A. D. 964. A strong party declared in favor of John, and the Germans, outnumbered, sought security in the ruins of the ancient city. The women who felt an attachment to the dignity and freedom of Rome, persuaded the nobles to drive out Leo; and many of his partisans lost their fingers, noses, or tongues. But Otho marched a second time towards the city, and an injured husband freed him from his troublesome rival. The defence was vain, and hunger soon forced the people to surrender. "So long as I or my successors," said Otho to the Romans, "shall wield this sword, so long must you reverence your pope Leo." Such was the beginning of the protection exercised by the German emperors over the church at Rome.

From that time, Otho, and his son of the same name, attempted to unite Italy under their sway. The Greek emperor Nicephorus Phocas, an excellent warrior, gave to Otho the Second, who espoused Theophano, his stepdaughter, all the rights and claims of the empire in lower Italy.

The negotiation on this subject furnished bishop Luitbrand of Pavia some anecdotes, which are interesting, as relating to the history of manners: "In July," he writes, "we arrived at Constantinople. They immediately presented us with an honorary guard, so that we could not make a single step without their knowledge. We could not drink the wine mixed with gypsum and pitch (an old African custom, which is still preserved in Spain). On the second day after our arrival, we rode to the audience. The emperor is a short, fat man, so brown that any person

would be frightened who met him in a forest. He said, 'he was sorry our master had been so audacious as to take possession of Rome, and put to death Berengar and Albert, who were worthy men; after which he had carried fire and sword even into the Grecian countries. He knew well that we had advised our master to these proceedings.' We replied, that 'our sovereign, the emperor, had freed Rome from tyrants and whores, and had come for that purpose to Italy, from the ends of the earth; seeing that other princes, sleeping on their thrones, had not deigned to think such disorders worthy of their notice: that there were knights among us who would at any time maintain the right and virtue of our lord, in a fair single combat; but that we came with friendly views, and to demand the princess Theophano.' The emperor said, 'It is now time to go to the parade.' His soldiers were the towns-people: no halbards were to be seen. The emperor passed slowly, clothed in a long mantle, between two rows of soldiers, amidst incessant acclamations. At the table, he chose to blame our manner of fighting; he said our arms were too heavy, and thought the Germans were brave only after they had drunk wine, and that the true Romans were at Constantinople. Hereupon he made a sign with his hand that I should hold my peace, and then began to talk of matters relating to the church. I said, 'We Germans know nothing of sects: the wars of the pen are not our affairs.' He is surrounded by flatterers, and the whole city is filled with voluptuousness. Even on holidays there are public spectacles. Their dominion does not depend upon their own strength, but on hired soldiers from Amalfi and Venice, and on Russian seamen."

Notwithstanding this degeneracy of manners, Theophano became the consort of Otho the Second, and introduced innovations into her simple German court. She or her suite contributed, on the other hand, to kindle the love of learning, in which at the same time missionaries and instructers from Scotland performed their share.

The attempt to unite Italy became abortive; the southern people have ever maintained themselves by craft, or the influence of their climate, against the arms of the North.

When, through deficiency in the power of resistance, or by turning to advantage factious dissensions, conquests have been obtained, generations have passed away before the vengeance of the usurped country has ceased from displaying its effects. Otho the Second, in an unfortunate seafight, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Arabs. Before he had prepared for a new campaign, he died; after putting to death several of the chief citizens of Rome, of whose independent principles he was afraid. A. D. 983.

From the time of the grandfather and father of Otho the Second, until ninety years after his death, the German kings remained the chief sovereigns of the Christian world. The princes of the empire had not yet rendered their offices and feudal possessions hereditary, but continued to be great and powerful vassals, while the royal house enjoyed the preponderating power. The Othos and their successors, who were men of energy and good talents, protected Germany from the anarchy which laid waste the other parts of Europe.

SECTION XXI.

THE FRENCH CROWN DEVOLVES ON THE FAMILY OF CAPET.

France was reduced to such a state of anarchy, that neither the innocent administration of Charles the Simple, nor the nobler qualities of Lewis the Fourth and Lothaire, were sufficient to maintain the public tranquillity. Scarcely any thing beyond the county of Laon remained to the Carlovingian princes; Hugh, duke of France, Orleans, and Burgundy, grandson of Robert the Strong, held the kings in such humiliation, that even the ceremony of the field of May, in which the Merovingians had in past times received the homage of the nation, was no longer celebrated to their honor. A. D. 987. When Lewis the Fifth, a weak young man, had attained his twenty-first year, and had terminated a life embittered by his political insignificance and by domestic animosities; his uncle, Charles duke of Lorraine, attempted to succeed him on the throne. The na

tion had sworn in the election of kings to confine themselves to the house of Pepin. But Hugh Capet, son of the great Hugh, and brother of Henry duke of Burgundy, a nobleman in the vigor of life, opulent, and possessed of distinguished talents, obtained the advantage. He was elected king, and Charles was defeated and made prisoner. The house of Charles the Great, without a revolution, sunk unobserved into obscurity, as the family of Clovis had sunk before, not in consequence of tyrannical government, but through the weakness of its last representatives.

Hugh secretly prepared the way for a more important revolution, viz. for converting the elective into a hereditary monarchy. In order to effect his object he caused his son Robert to be crowned during his own life, and thus contrived to make his own authority come in aid of the feeble pretensions which the young prince could offer to the throne. The succeeding kings imitated this example; until, in the time of Philip Augustus, the royal power seemed so securely established in the hands of the reigning dynasty, that the precaution was henceforth superfluous. Where the laws govern, elective monarchy is not necessary; and where they want influence, it is a dangerous and ruinous institution. The sovereigns of Germany sought to follow the plan of the first kings of the house of Capet, but with very unequal success.

When the royal authority in France had became a mere shadow, the kings sought to increase their resources by territorial inheritances; and instead of re-establishing the old Frankish form of government, they retained the possession of their acquisitions like other lords. Accordingly, the steps which they made towards the restoration of their power, were not accomplished by bringing back the original constitution, in which the king had been the president of the nation, and the executor of the national decrees; but by uniting many subordinate dominions under one head, who governed with all the rights of which the territorial lords had contrived to possess themselves. The old national government was wholly lost sight of.

The French kings would sooner have accomplished their design, if they had not, like the emperors, bestowed many

domains which had fallen into their possession on younger branches of the royal house, instead of uniting them to the crown. Their desire of increasing their power was, indeed, more allied to vulgar ambition than to any predetermined scheme of policy or enlightened care for the good of the monarchy. The most favorable opportunities that befell them had neither been prepared by their foresight, nor were they turned to the greatest possible advantage; but were for the most part the contingent effect of circumstances. So humiliating is history to the pride of the politician!

SECTION XXII.

NORMANDY.

Among the nobles of France, the duke of Normandy was the first. He was even more powerful than the king himself, and for a long time opposed the greatest obstacles to the progress of the royal sway. The chief sources of his greatness were the excellent nature of the country of Normandy, that chivalrous spirit of his nobles which was favored by the Norman law, and the genuine character of the northern people, which, among his subjects, was long preserved unaltered. A. D. 1066. The conquest of England by William was advantageous to the throne of France: for when the duke became a foreign potentate, the French nobles adhered more closely to their own king, from whom they had less to fear; while the Norman princes, since the acquisition of their new kingdom, were unable to maintain so careful an interest in their affairs.

SECTION XXIII.

OF THE KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY AND THE HOUSE OF SAVOY.

What the Normans had effected in the north-west was accomplished by the Burgundian houses in the south-east.

The descendants of Rudolf adhered to the German monarchs. At Dijon, Robert, son of the king of the same name, erected the seat of a dukedom, which was powerful during three hundred years. The courts of Vienne extended their authority over Allobrogia; and in the interior of this country, at the feet of the mountains covered with perpetual winter, we discover the obscure origin of the house of Savoy.

It happened that the kingdom of Arles, united to Burgundy by Rudolf the Second, became, together with the other states of that prince, separated from France. For Rudolf the Third having despoiled a land-owner of estates, which, according to the law or the opinion of the nobles, belonged to him of right, the latter took arms against a king who had attempted to raise himself above the laws. Thenceforward Rudolf adhered to Henry the Second, and Conrad the Second, the successors of Otho, and brought over to them the crown of Burgundy. A. D. 1032. He concluded a long and odious reign without leaving any legitimate heir; and Conrad having gained a victory, was acknowledged as king at Petterling, in the Pays de Vaud, and crowned at Geneva. It is not clear whether he grounded his right chiefly on relationship or on the claims of the Carlovingian monarchs, which had devolved on the German emperors; for we observed above that Boson had received the kingdom of Arles as a fief from Charles the Fat. Certain it is that the Transjurane territory and Savoy became from that time completely alienated from the French monarchy.

The new sovereign of Burgundy intrusted count Humbert the White-handed with the government of some districts of the Arelatensian kingdom, as Rudolf had confided it to Berald the father of that nobleman. These counts were the ancestors of the house of Savoy. Their oldest possessions were on the lakes of Annecy, Bourget, and Geneva, in the circuit of the Roman colony of Nion, and in the lower Valais from St. Maurice to the fortress of Chillon, situate on the lake. Afterwards count Odo married Adelaide, heiress of Ivrea, the Italian countess, who in the gate of Turin administered the affairs of a number of scattered

tribes. From these parents Amadeus inherited, together with Savoy, the valley of Aosta, the country of the Piedmontese, and a number of fortresses reaching to the Mediterranean sea.

As in the dawn of the morning we distinguish, from a lofty summit of the Alps, first the inferior mountains, then the lakes, fortresses, towns, hills and plains, so, in the eleventh century, we first gain sight of the great reigning dynasties of Europe; soon afterwards we discern particular nobles and illustrious families, and at length the associations of burgesses which gradually elevate themselves from among the enslaved multitude.

From Otho William, also of Ivrea, landgrave (for so he called himself) of the Jura, in Waraschken and in Franche Comté, is deduced a series of lords of Upper Burgundy, who were powerful protectors of their people and of their own independence. A. D. 1027. They defended the former against arbitrary exactions, and the latter against the usurpations of the neighboring monarchs. From a younger branch of the house of Upper Burgundy are descended the lords of Chalons, afterwards heirs of the prince of Orange, not less opulent than the landgrave, and ancestors of the illustrious heiress who brought all the estates of the Chalons-Orange family into the house of Nassau. Hence these names become important in the history of the human race.

SECTION XXIV.

HOUSES OF HAPSBURG AND OF LORRAINE.

The emperor Henry the Third, son of Conrad the Second, gave to Albert, count of Alsace, and Gerhard his brother, the dukedom on the Moselle, termed the Upper Lorraine. A. D. 1044. The lineage of these counts is deduced from the dukes of the old Allemanni (A. D 1047.); and from Ethico, royal commissary in this nation in the time of the Merovingians. Ethico had two sons, from one of whom the house of Lorraine, and from the other the counts of Hapsburg, are descended. Their es-

tates lay in the country of Alsace, extending widely to the feet of the Alps, and in the neighboring districts of the Allemanni on the Aare, and in Swabia.

Great misfortunes befell this house when Luitfried, duke of the Allemanni, waged an unsuccessful war against the father of Charlemain, by which he lost the ducal dignity; and when count Guntram assisted the rebellious son of Otho the First, then duke of Swabia, against his father. A. D. 955. In consequence of these imprudent measures, that branch of the house that gives origin to the princes of Hapsburg lost their feudal domains, and preserved with difficulty their hereditary estates.

A. D. 1020. Hapsburg was founded soon after this misfortune. The heirs of that house which Providence destined to rule over the countries on the Aluta, the Danube, the Po, to inherit Burgundy and Spain, and to be successors of the Peruvian incas, first occur to our notice in the deeds of monasteries and among the numerous attendants of the campaigns of the emperors. The house of Lorraine arose more splendidly: for at the same time Gerhard became duke of Lorraine, and Bruno his kinsman, under the name of Leo the Ninth, was one of the most powerful Roman pontiffs.

SECTION XXV.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The counts of the Flamings in Flanders, and the lords of the Netherlands, are distinguished from the nobles and people of all other countries. These districts were more difficult to defend against the waves of the northern sea and against pirates, than in a contest with the arms of the neighboring people: whence the nobles of the Low Countries were obliged, by immunities which rendered the abode desirable, to entice settlers who might clear away the forests, drain the morasses, secure the unstable coasts with dams, and gain conquests over the sea. Thus an uncommonly numerous population was soon formed, and industry brought the arts of peace to a far earlier maturity than elsewhere.

As the dukes of Normandy bestowed honors on valiant knights who fought with renown under their banners, so the counts of Flanders and Holland conferred distinction on useful burgesses and husbandmen.

SECTION XXVI.

ENGLAND.

In this manner the English kings, especially Alfred and Athelstan, had set the counts remarkable examples. After the former prince had delivered his country from the Danish adventurers (A. D. 871.), who every year plundered the coast or levied contributions on its inhabitants, civil order, industry, commerce, and maritime power, became the chief objects of his attention, and of that of his son and grandson, Edward and Athelstan. These were the first princes in the middle ages who discovered that more than one road to fame is open to peaceful men. Alfred possessed a combination of qualities which are to be desired in all the magistrates of free nations, and were scarcely to be expected from the philosophers of his age. He and his successors, with more comprehensive minds than any of the conquerors possessed, gave to commerce such a degree of activity, such consistency of power to the maritime forces, such a spirit to legislation, and afforded such splendid encouragement to science; Other and Wulfstan, under the direction of Alfred, made such successful voyages of discovery in the unknown northern seas, that we observe with surprise how early the English nation displayed its natural bent, and prepared itself for the part which it was destined to act in later ages.

A. D. 978. A hundred years after Alfred, under the weak kings Ethelred and Edmund, the crimes of an ambitious woman having stained the throne with the innocent blood of Edward the Second, the fortune and the authority of the royal house abandoned it. Sweno, king of the Danes, availed himself of the dissensions and weakness of the English

state; and he and his son Canute the Great ascended the Anglo-Saxon throne. A. D. 1014.

In no other age was the Norman name so illustrious. Denmark and England obeyed Canute: on the north-western coast of France, Richard the Good and Richard the Proud, a father and son, reigned as dukes of Normandy. They possessed the greater ascendancy as they preserved their connection with Norway and Sweden. In the same age, twelve sons of a Norman nobleman, lord Tancred of Hauteville, founded the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

In Britain, the laws and customs of the English were preserved. They were the same as those of Denmark, but had attained to a more complete form.

SECTION XXVII.

SCANDINAVIA.

Since Charlemain had introduced Christianity among the Saxons, and since Anschar, a monk of Corvey, had promulgated this faith among the Danes and Swedes, the old worship of Woden, and the barbarous simplicity of the north, had contended in Denmark against the religion and the manners of the south. The Danes and Normans were the most powerful of the Scandinavian nations, for they were the first who consented to revere the supreme power concentrated in a single chief: the Goths and Swedes remained longer separate, and were scarcely able with divided power to maintain themselves in independence. Finland and Ewenaland were also distinct principalities. The best kings of the Goths and Swedes were those who brought agriculture into use, and derived from the fisheries in the four great seas, and from the produce of the ancient mines, resources which enabled them to promote the civilization of their people.

SECTION XXVIII.

ICELAND.

Iceland was distinguished from the countries above-mentioned in this respect, that a scarcely cultivated island, in a cold climate, and widely separated from the rest of Europe, required the greater exertion in order to overcome its natural disadvantages. Twelve lagmans administered the laws of this people, brought by their ancestors from the continent; in the beginning of the eleventh century, Christianity was introduced; and after the legal code of the great Canute, there is no more ancient monument of northern legislation than the ecclesiastical right by which the Icelandic bishops, Thorlak, Runolf, and Ketill Thorstan, united themselves with the spiritual and temporal land-owners. A. D. 1123. Soon after this, Are Polyhistor and Sæmund Sigfusson wrote the history of the country. A century later, Snorro Sturlæson, a judge in Iceland, collected in the Edda the materials of northern poetry—the traditions of the former time. A. D. 1241.

Already Erich, son of Thorwald, setting out from Iceland, had planted a colony in the remote Greenland; from Permia a regular commerce was carried on by these people on the White sea of the north; and young Icelanders passed by sea and land through a hundred nations to seek gains, knowledge, and adventures in Greece and the Holy Land; whence they had returned in their old age to amuse the long nights of the Iceland winters with the relation of the wonders they had seen, and the sagas of the gods or heroes. The Edda is a compilation of such tales, intended to perpetuate the remembrance of them, and encourage a spirit of enterprise in succeeding generations.

SECTION XXIX.

RUSSIA.

But it was the Christian religion, that point of union among nations, whose history is as ancient as the world, as well as among the more civilized people of Europe, that like the electric spark roused the nations of the north from their long sleep of ignorance.

When Olga, the female sovereign of Russia, and Vladimir the Great, had adopted the faith of the more enlightened nations, an acquaintance with the necessities and the advantages of civil order was introduced among the tribes of their empire. A. D. 955. Olga established roads, erected bridges, promoted communication among different hordes, and facilitated the progress of merchants. After Vladimir had received the rite of baptism, he married Anna of Constantinople, sister of Theophano, empress of Germany. A. D. 980. From his court ambassadors were sent to the western and to the Greek emperor, and to the Moslem commanders of the Faithful at Bagdad. He established schools, and opened a path for commercial enterprise by means of the Volga, which pours itself into the Caspian sea; and his powerful hand protected the market of Permia. This warrior, who slept under the open heaven, who knew not the use of any but wooden instruments, and had taken to his bed eight hundred and five wives, was a Peter the Great of the tenth century. Nature already revealed that she had placed in Russia a mass of strength which only required to be awakened; and that the vast and comprehensive was to be the character of this empire. The Greeks and Germans worked together in promoting its culture, and its relations became immediately interesting to all large states.

Yaroslaf, the son of Vladimir, became the legislator of Novgorod (A. D. 1015.); he subdued the Livonian coast, and founded the town of Dörpt in the conquered country. His ordinances, as all regulations ought to be, were consonant with the character of the nation; thus, whoever pulled

a hair out of the beard of any man, underwent a punishment four times more severe than if he had cut off one of his fingers. Yaroslaf omitted nothing in order to render his people, so superior to others in power, equal to them in knowledge. He encouraged translations of Greek books; he brought the Russians into relations with all the civilized nations; he gave Anna, his daughter, to king Henry the First of France, and from her are descended all the French kings. With the German emperors he concluded alliances against the wild Hungarians, as against common enemies. The pope already sought occasion to become known to, and revered by, the Russians.

Alexius Comnenus one of the most illustrious emperors of Constantinople, bestowed upon Vladimir Monomachus, son of Usevolod and grandson of Yaroslaf, the insignia of the imperial dignity; and Kyow, the Russian capital, swore, in the election of the czar, to confine their choice to the house of Vladimir.

In his time lived in Peczera, one of the most venerable monasteries of Kyow, Nestor, the first historian of the Russian empire, who is distinguished by a simple and instructive style, and by many proofs of sound judgment and uncommon learning.

One circumstance retarded the progress of Russia in commerce, knowledge, and political influence; this was the division which Vladimir made of his empire between his twelve sons, which, by the disquiet and the feuds it occasioned brought back the rudeness of uncivilized manners, which were scarcely beginning to be softened

SECTION XXX.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

The empire of the Greeks afforded, during this interval, an asylum to the remains of literature and culture, preserved from the ages of antiquity.

The emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, who incurred the vehement hatred of the worshippers

of images (A. D. 829.), was an upright prince, a friend to his people, and a patron of the arts. It is true, that during the minority of Michael the Third, the empress Theodora, as Irene had formerly done, induced by superstition or policy, restored the images (A. D. 842.), and the attempt to abolish their use was for ever abandoned. It is true that Michael himself was occupied exclusively with satisfying his own impure lusts, and was always surrounded with favorites, who had no other pretension than their beauty; but Cæsar Bardas kept the state in order, and feeling that learning alone could distinguish and give weight to his authority, sought to support the neglected cause of literature. He raised the learned Photius to the patriarchate of Constantinople; a man who, in the tumult of intrigues, of which he became the victim, and in the possession of the highest spiritual dignity, consecrated to literature hours which another would have wasted in attendance on the court, and expended in its pursuit sums which by any of his contemporaries would have been differently bestowed.

A. D. 867. Basilius, the murderer of Michael and of his uncle, ascended a throne which he adorned with talents that were worthy of a more legitimate claim: and such a title he earned by a meritorious administration. It was he who instituted the code of the imperial law. He had equity enough to cause justice to be done during his administration to Photius, who had owed his dignity to Bardas.

A. D. 886. After an active and prudent reign, he left the empire to his son Leo, the disciple and the persecutor of Photius, a learned prince, but the victim of violent passions. After Leo had amplified the legal code of his father, the tutelage of the infant Constantine Porphyrogennetes devolved first on his uncle Alexander (A. D. 911.), a slave of pleasure, and afterwards to the empress Zoe. A. D. 912. A female arm was found too feeble to restrain the efforts of ambition: and in this conjuncture Romanus Lacopenus acquired the sovereign power by perjury (A. D. 919.), which he exercised with dignity and prudence. Constantine devoted himself to the works of the ancients, and to the study of the constitution and political relations of the empire; on which subjects he has left

valuable writings. He appeared to be entirely given up to books and wine; yet contrived to destroy the crafty statesman who had usurped the chief power by means of his own sons, for whose fortune Romanus had still further abandoned the maxims of morality. The sons soon became the victims of their folly, and Constantine at length gained possession of his empire.

A. D. 959. After him Romanus the Second, with difficulty and without glory, obtained the throne, and devoted his power to the gratification of sensual passions. Nicephorus Phocas, singular as he and his court appeared to the bishop of Pavia, was the restorer of the Roman power by his own exploits in Crete (A. D. 964.), and by victories obtained by his generals against the Saracens and the Buyides in Lesser Asia and Syria. The empire was maintained in a more severe contest by John Tzimices against the armies of the Russian Swaroslaf, son of Olga, and father of Vladimir. A. D. 969. This prince, as well as Nicephorus, had held the sovereignty, without incurring the censure of usurpation, during the minority of the sons of Romanus; as the talents of the best generals were required by the exigencies of the times. Basilius the Second, and Constantine the Eighth, ascended the throne together (A. D. 975.); and so shared it between them, that all the labors of government fell to the lot of the first, and its enjoyments to his associate. Under these princes the empire obtained a period of good fortune not less glorious than the two former reigns. Basilius broke the power of the Bulgarians, which had long been formidable, in several great battles and sieges, and subdued them from the mouths of the Danube to the borders of the old Epirus. After a reign of fifty years, distinguished by every imperial virtue, Basilius left the sole possession of the throne to his brother. A. D. 1025.

The latter governed without capacity, and with a severity which was the effect of fear. He bequeathed the empire, with his daughter Zoe, on the patrician Romanus Argyrus; a virtuous prince, who suffered from the Saracens a defeat near Aleppo (A. D. 1028.), which was only to be ascribed to his want of local knowledge. Zoe was attracted by the

beauty of a more youthful lover; and her passion cost her husband his life and ruined her own fortunes: for scarcely had the adulterer obtained the crown, under the name of Michael the Fourth (A. D. 1034.), when his mind, not wholly abandoned by virtue, became agitated by remorse, which destroyed the vigor of his nerves, and rendered him a prey to disease. Incapable of consolation so long as the fruit of his crime remained in his possession, he finally abandoned his palace, and sought to appease the stings of conscience by immuring himself in a cloister. The empress raised his cousin, Michael Calaphates, to the throne. A. D. 1041. She wished to be regarded as his mother, but he was ungrateful to all those to whom he owed his elevation, and soon merited dethronement. Zoe would have spared him the loss of his eyes, which he suffered from the vengeance of her sister. A. D. 1042. The empress was glad to espouse Constantinus Monomachus, a nobleman who had suffered from her former attachment to him; and she consented that Sclerana, who had by self-devotion merited his affection, should reside in the imperial palace. She afterwards enjoyed a tranquil old age, and the empire an administration which had the appearance of good order and decorum. After Constantine had concluded a reign devoted to pleasure (A. D. 1054.), Theodora, the ambitious sister of Zoe, who was already dead, succeeded to the throne, and governed for a short time with wisdom and courage.

A. D. 1056. With her the imperial family, descended from the first Basilius, became extinct. Her ministers of state raised to the throne Michael the Sixth, a warrior, by whose military talents they hoped to acquire for the empire respect abroad, while they retained the power at home in their own hands. Michael soon showed how difficult it is for a man who has spent a long course of years in a subordinate rank, so to administer the royal authority that sovereignty shall not appear to be unnaturally disposed of in his hands. The great, whom he had offended, destroyed him by the aid of Isaac Comnenus (A. D. 1057.), who reigned after him for a short time, with prudence and other praiseworthy qualities, and laid down the sceptre when sickness had

rendered him less capable of wielding it. A. D. 1059. Constantinus Ducas ruled equitably, but he wanted military talents; and it was fortunate that the barbarous Utzes, who penetrated from northern Asia across the Danube, were destroyed by contingent misfortunes and by their own fault. A. D. 1068. Romanus Diogenes, whom the widow of Ducas elevated to the throne and to her bed, possessed magnanimity and military virtues which would have enabled him better to resist the rising power of the Seljukian Turks, if the jealousy of his nobles had not prevented. He fell, through their treachery, into the power of the sultan Alp Arslan. A. D. 1071. Happy would he have been had fate cast his lot among these generous barbarians! He was liberated; and found in his empire treason, defection, and a cruel assassination. The weak son of Ducas, Michael the Seventh, who devoted himself to the frivolous study of grammatical subtleties, and was the slave of a bad minister, found at length an asylum and honors in the church. A. D. 1078. Nicephorus Botoniates, who, as a soldier, was worthy of the empire, but deficient in the virtues of a sovereign, yielded to the fortunes of the Comneni, with whose accession a new era opens. A. D. 1081.

We may observe, in a survey of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, that several of the emperors, either by their own virtues, or by the choice of good ministers, appeared to be worthy successors of the best of the old Cæsars. To maintain the luxurious empire against the Bulgarians, Russians, and the nations of the East, to the latter of whom every new revolution at Bagdad communicated a new impulse, was a most arduous task. In Constantinople a fund of literature was preserved during these times, which was destined to employ the labor of later ages.

SECTION XXXI.

CONCLUSION.

From the whole delineation of the two hundred and sixty years which followed the reign of Charlemain, it ap-

pears evident by what means, after the dismemberment of his empire, Henry, king of the Germans, contrived to build his throne on the firmest foundations, and acquire for this nation the preponderance among all the states which rose from the ruins of that monarchy. Spain was divided; short was the duration of Alfred's wise policy among the English; scarcely is the shadow of royal power to be discerned in the kingdom of the Capets; Burgundy and Italy were subjected to the Germans; Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, were beginning, by the influence of Christianity, to attain to civilization; the adventures of the Normans were destitute of plan; and in Russia unwise czars abandoned the principles of Vladimir, and ruined their empire by intestine broils.

The Othos indeed, and their successors, followed salutary maxims of government; they encouraged the progress of a humanizing religion, and the arts of civilized life: they only wanted power in their vast empire, from the Eida to Capua, to hold in peace and good order the multitude of nobles. To the latter they were under the necessity of confiding too much authority in their domains, by which the chieftains were enabled to form for themselves parties, and lay the foundations of independent rule.

A. D. 1002. When, after Otho the Third, Henry the Second had assumed the imperial crown, he was obliged, although descended from the first Henry, to contend against factions. He conquered; and prepared the acquisition of Burgundy for his excellent successor Conrad, sprung from a family related to the imperial house. A. D. 1032. Conrad caused his son to be elected during his own life, and Henry the Third followed in this respect the example of his father. A. D. 1039. The times of Conrad and Henry were the most flourishing period of the German monarchy (A. D. 1056.): the minority of Henry the Fourth and the feminine government of his mother, Agnes of Guienne, were but too favorable to the wishes of the great. A contingent misfortune might have brought the imperial throne into a dependent state; and such a misfortune at length befell it, in the increase of the papal power.

BOOK XV.

THE AGE IN WHICH THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE PAPACY WAS ESTABLISHED.—FROM A. D. 1073 TO 1177.

SECTION I.

THE NORMANS IN ITALY.

Landulf, the old duke of Benevento, and the neighboring Catapan, or viceroy of the Greek emperor, had entered into a treaty with adventurers from Normandy, that the latter should give them assistance in overturning the growing power of the Arabs in the south of Italy, and should receive pay and estates in the conquered land as a recompense. The foreigners accomplished their undertaking, and soon experienced the ingratitude of the Greeks. The Normans, conscious of their own superiority, resolved, few as they were, to take vengeance on the disorderly multitudes of their treacherous allies. The beauty of the country attracted them; they brought over reinforcements of their valiant countrymen from Normandy, and every where obtained the advantage over the Greeks, and over the princes of Benevento and Salerno, who were weakened by factions and effeminate manners.

From Amalfi, their earliest conquest of importance, they sent out armies and subdued the Liborian and Beneventan territory, and most of the cities of the Catapan. The papal chair, which became more and more agitated by disputes with the Greek church, and by disquietude on account of the increasing power of the Germans, was guided by wise counsels, when it favored the party of the Normans. They consented to receive their conquests as fiefs from the head of the Christian church, to whose dignity they testified their veneration, by falling at the feet of Leo the Ninth, after they had taken him prisoner in a battle.

A. D. 1057. This compact was confirmed in the time of Robert Guiscard, of Hauteville, who combined with the warlike valor of his brethren the more artful character of a politician, and was endowed with all the qualities which are requisite in the founder of a state. A. D. 1058. Pope Nicholas the Second, a Burgundian (who endeavored by his regulations concerning the papal elections to secure the future independence of the holy see; and by the acquisition of various estates in the vicinity of Rome, to found its temporal principality), was the pontiff who more especially contributed to establish this alliance between the pontifical chair and Robert Guiscard.

SECTION II.

OF THE PAPACY.

After the schism which was healed by the emperor Henry the Third, the papal chair had been filled by Leo and Stephen, two natives of Lorraine, each the ninth pope of his name: they were both men of noble birth and experience in the conduct of public affairs; and had adorned their office with more than its former dignity. Accordingly after the death of Nicholas (A. D. 1061.), Alexander the Second, the bishop of Lucca, a Milanese, was elected to the papacy without the influence of the imperial court, and was able to maintain his station. The bishops, abbots, priests, and deacons, the clergy of the churches in the vicinity of Rome, who were named cardinals, resolved in the synod, held in the church of St. John, in Lateran, "that since the sacred chair had been put to sale by laymen, in a most opprobrious manner, and many sacred privileges had been suppressed by lay influence, the cardinals should always assemble after the demise of a pope, and with the assistance of the chancellor of Lombardy, and preserving inviolate all the privileges of Henry, king of Germany, or of any other monarch who might have been crowned emperor by a pope in Rome, should proceed immediately to the election." The people was asked, Is our choice agree-

able to you? and answered, It is agreeable to us.—Will you receive him? We will receive him.—Do you approve him? We do approve him.

A. D. 1073. In this manner, after the decease of Alexander, cardinal Hildebrand, a Tuscan, who in the preceding reigns had possessed a leading influence, was elected to the papacy under the title of pope Gregory the Seventh. Either through affected moderation, or because the reality of power was more agreeable to him than its exterior, he opposed many objections to his nomination, and entreated king Henry to refuse his assent. The king, who knew him to be a man of learning and great intelligence, and skilful in the management of affairs, immediately despatched George bishop of Vercelli to the chancellor of Lombardy to confirm the nomination.

Gregory had been acquainted during many years with the court of the German king, and had spent a considerable time in the respectable monastery of Clugny, in France. The people reverenced him as a great spiritual orator. He was animated by the zeal of a prophet, and united the pliability of a party leader with the steadfastness of the old Roman patriot. He was the great man of his age. The most discerning prelates, the monks, from whose rank he had raised himself, felt the dignity which such a pope would reflect on each of them. The princes of the German empire were determinately bent on the degradation of the royal authority; and to many of them it was not unwelcome that the dogma should be spread abroad, "that the Christian world looked only to Christ, and since the Lord had departed from before the eyes of men, to the right hand of the throne of God, it regarded the successor of the first of his witnesses, on whom and on whose testimony, as on a rock, the Church was founded, as its only paternal and sacred head; that the laws of nations, the dictates of eternal wisdom, derived in an especial manner their force, their interpretation, and their application, from the vicegerent of Christ, who authorized emperors and kings; and that since Jesus named Peter as the fundamental rock of his church, the apostle and his successors alone possessed substantial

power, eternal as the power of the Father, and the might of Jesus Christ, the judge of all the earth."

Gregory perceived the impression produced by such representations, and discerned the advantage which would arise from setting the spiritual servants of the church free from all dependence on temporal princes. He accordingly took occasion, in a controversy which had lately been renewed concerning spiritual perfection, to forbid marriage to the clergy. It could not escape his knowledge of mankind that in the war which was to be declared against nature, the passions would seek and would find more than one way of retribution, and he had to apprehend many degrading scandals: yet experience has taught us that Gregory did not erroneously estimate the influence of habit and of pious restraint over some, the resources of prudence and circumspection with others, and the impression of an exalted precept, which more than counterbalances the defective exercise. This institution has been retained seven hundred years in Catholic Christendom; and in the Protestant countries it has fallen together with the power of the priesthood.

Gregory likewise forbade to receive the investiture of spiritual benefices from temporal hands; and exalted the importance, not without specious reasons on his side, of that authority which a Christian teacher receives for the exercise of his function, from those who are best acquainted with the extent of his duties. With this authority was connected the participation in those temporal advantages which pious or political munificence had conjoined with its possession.

Henry the Fourth, king of the Germans, was engaged in a war against the Saxons; whose duke, Magnus, of the house of Billungen, followed the national opinion, when he maintained that the monarch had violated the constitution. At the same time Rudolf of Rheinfeld, duke of Swabia, and Bertold of Zæring, duke of Carinthia, had united their arms against him. The pope having in vain demanded of him that he should publish and observe the ordinances of the church throughout the German empire, some of which,

especially those relating to celibacy, experienced much opposition, a dispute took place between the emperor and the pontiff. The people, influenced by monks, who were animated by the zeal of new institutions, and who by castration, fasting, silence, and strict obedience to their orders, had attained a high degree of popular veneration, were for the most part determined in favor of the pope. In vain the great prelates declared themselves on the side of the prince, and sought to induce the pontiff to submission.

A. D. 1076. The king, at a diet at Worms, ventured on the deposition of the pope. When the bishops made this known in Rome, the knights and the people of that city, always ready to embrace the side of those who exalted the cause of Rome, took arms under the prefect of the town, but the pope represented to them that spiritual arms alone must gain the victory in this contest. He assembled a hundred and ten bishops, and put under the bann Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, the disturber of the German empire, together with all the bishops and abbots who had been present at the diet at Worms; lastly, he extended the same penalty to the king, declaring that he who had violated the honors of the church, had more than deserved to lose his own. In vain the bishops, fearing for the consequences, in vain the more equitable of the prelates, made remonstrances, observing that Henry had only acted conformably with established custom. "I will give him peace," said Gregory, "when he shall seek peace with God," meaning with himself. "I cannot find that when the Lord confided to the apostle the keys of heaven and hell, he made any exception in favor of kings."

Gregory knew that on the south he was protected by the power of the Normans, and in the neighborhood of Rome and as far as the Alps, by Matilda, great countess of Este, who was devoted to his cause. The rumors of calumny have less probability in accounting for this attachment than the remembrance of the injuries which her house, in the time of her youth, had suffered from the father of the emperor, and the conviction that her dependence on the pope would be the most secure guarantee for the maintenance of her power. In Germany, Guelph, duke of Bavaria,

Bertold, and Rudolf consulted together, and gave occasion to the summoning of a diet, in which they urged the king, since those who for a year and a day remained under the bann forfeited their honors and estates, to oblige the pope to come to Germany. The emperor, apprehensive of the consequences that might ensue, if the pope should make his appearance on this side the Alps, preferred to go and seek absolution in Italy. He approached the Alps through the Transjurane Burgundy: the bishop of Lausanne, Burcard of Ottigen, a married man, brave, and versed in policy, an enemy of duke Rudolf, brought the king to Vevay; the chancellor of Burgundy, Hermanfred, bishop of Sitten, waited for him, with Adelaide, countess of Savoy. Thus was the passage of the Alps facilitated to the monarch, and to the few nobles who accompanied him.

A. D. 1077. He found Gregory at Canossa, a strong fortress belonging to Matilda, which had been formed by nature and art as a secure asylum. After the king had for three days and nights entreated pardon, with lamentation, in penitential garments, and with naked feet, Gregory gave him absolution, under an engagement, that he should, within a limited time, and according to the good pleasure of the pope, reconcile himself with the German princes and their party.

While the majesty of the imperial crown was thus humiliated, the Lombards went over to the most powerful party; and when the king, observing the impression which these proceedings had made, was incited to attempt new measures, his enemies in the empire declared duke Rudolf king of the Germans.

A. D. 1080. The fortune of arms was on the side of Henry; the rival king was slain, and Herman of Luxemburg, his successor, fell through his own pusillanimity. The pope was expelled from Rome, yet the public sentiment destroyed the effect of the emperor's victories. The altar afforded an asylum against the exertion of the royal power, and the privileges of particular ranks began to display an influence, which in the sequel became, in an unforeseen manner, beneficial to the interests of humanity. The king's

enemies were in his own house: his eldest born, who had revolted, was scarcely dead, when his second son Henry, imitating the former, raised a rebellious hand against the declining strength of his father, who had already fought sixty-five battles: the sons of the monarch were ever ready to enter into litigation against the privileges of the crown so long as they had it not in their possession.

A. D. 1106. In the fiftieth year of his reign, king Henry the Fourth was reduced to the necessity of yielding the insignia of monarchy into the hands of his son. Grief and vexation shortened his days; and after his death his body remained five years above ground, in a little chapel, in the cathedral at Spires, until, released from the bann, it at length obtained rest in a consecrated grave.

Henry the Fifth renewed the war against the pretensions of the papal chair, in which his father had fallen a victim to the ambition of the pope. A. D. 1111. Paschalis the Second, in the midst of a solemn assembly in the metropolitan church of the Christian world, was seized and made captive by this emperor. But so powerful was the voice of public opinion, and so certain it is that the knowledge of this is the foundation of true policy, that no victory, no rival pope, no calumnious or even just reproaches were sufficiently powerful to secure to the emperor a decisive advantage. Guy, of the house of Upper Burgundy, archbishop of Vienne, having ascended the papal throne under the name of Callistus the Second, the only pope since the time of Alexander that had not been a monk, compromised the dispute concerning investitures with Henry the Fifth on just principles, but not on those which had hitherto been in vogue (A. D. 1122.): "That the election should be left to the capitularies: the spiritual investiture should be performed by the pope with a ring and staff, and that of the temporalities by the emperor with the sceptre; that a privilege should also be reserved to the emperor to be present, either in person or by his commissaries, at the election and consecration; and in the case of any difference of opinion, to support the pretensions of the better party."

At the time when the popes, in their difficult contest against Henry the Fourth and Fifth (A. D. 1096.), sought

protection at one time from the Normans, and at another from the French, and scarcely held out in Italy against the arms and pretensions of their powerful rivals, the Christian people of the West were induced by pope Urban the Second, to suspend their feuds and the cultivation of their land, to abandon their native countries, where each baron ruled as a king; and to go to the East in order to set free Palestine and Jerusalem from the yoke of the Egyptian sultans.

While Urbanus, by the crusade, to which he seems to have given the impulse without any deep political designs, removed from their countries the great land-owners and occasioned their ruin, he laid the foundation, contrary to his intention, of an increase of the authority of the kings, who were enabled to give laws to his successors. He expected to extend his power over Zion, and made use of means which brought about its degradation even in Rome.

SECTION III.

THE HOHENSTAUFENS AND THE GUELPHS.

About the same period the two great families of the Hohenstaufens and the Guelphs raised themselves to political importance; the latter by the influence of Frederick, a son-in-law of Henry the Fourth, who after Rudolf's rebellion confided to him the dukedom of Swabia; the former in consequence of the marriage of Kunigonda of Guelph (A. D. 1081.), heiress of an ancient Upper Swabian family, with the marquis Azzo d'Este in Italy, to whom she bore that Guelph who in the time of Henry the Fourth was one of the most powerful princes of the empire, and became the ancestor of the illustrious house which now governs Brunswick, the sea, the British isles, and the remote possessions of Britain in all quarters of the world. For when the house of Billungen had become extinct with the death of duke Magnus (A. D. 1106.), Henry the Black, second son of Guelph, inherited the allodial estates of their family, one of which was Lüneburg, a territory conquered from the Wends. His son, Henry the Proud, married Gertrude,

only daughter of the count of Supplingenburg, who was not only heiress by her mother's side of the margraves of Saxony, and particularly of the domains of Brunswick, but was also daughter of Lothaire, who succeeded Henry the Fifth on the throne of Germany. A. D. 1125. This prince confirmed the power of his son-in-law, as well in Saxony, the dukedom of which had been confided to his father, as in Bavaria, which the latter had obtained after the demise of his elder brother, and in the hereditary lands of Brunswick. Brunswick was a very ancient Saxon town, consisting of five villages, which since the tenth century had become a city. Henry the Proud, and his valiant son Henry the Lion, extended their conquests between the Weser and the Elbe, and beyond the latter to the Baltic, over Slavonian tribes, to whom they communicated the benefits of a regular government and the rudiments of civilization.

SECTION IV.

CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

The last-mentioned emperor of the house of Supplingenburg, a wise and equitable prince, felt himself not so secure in his authority that he might venture on the attempt to exchange the name for the reality of power. A. D. 1138. This prince, and Conrad of Hohenstaufen, who was maternal grandson of Henry the Fourth, were afraid to oppose the prevailing opinion with respect to the authority of the Roman see, from the influence of which their own consciences were not free. Talents and courage only could give personal weight to the sovereign in these times, which circumstances refused to the title of his rank. The kings, indeed, could neither bestow vacated fiefs without the consent of the states, nor reward their friends, or increase the domains of their families, without gaining the consent of the great by similar largesses, and thereby maintaining the equipoise of power. Without the good will of the states they could neither alienate any part of their domanial property, nor give back seigniories which had been forfeited to

their old possessors; for they might thus have been enabled to form arrangements dangerous to the constitution.

The domanial estates of the emperors were situated chiefly on the Rhine, and were the territories conquered of old by the Romans from the Germans, of which in later times the Romans had been dispossessed by the Allemanni, and the latter by the Franks. The Count Palatine of the Rhine, who governed these demesnes, acquired at length the secure possession of them.

The emperors received an irregular income from Lombardy and Italy, and a still more uncertain tribute from the Bohemian, Polish, and other Slavonian tribes. Hence they found themselves interested in extending the boundaries of the empire. Imposts and coinage, as matters which were of importance to the commonwealth, and required regularity and unity of plan, were naturally referred to the common sovereign of the empire. The princes appointed extraordinary taxes according to the determination of the nobles, and depending on particular circumstances.

The princes and nobles were too nearly on an equality in power to be willing instruments in subjecting each other to a yoke. The fief, even when united, was not an indivisible dominion; its separation was possible, and the right of primogeniture was little in practice, while the division of property was a common usage. The German empire was a great confederacy against the rise of arbitrary power, and a certain common spirit governed the whole body. As the princes sought to maintain themselves in their great fiefs against the king or emperor, so the lords and knights defended their domains against the oppression of the princes. The progressive culture of estates and the growth of arts enriched the husbandmen and artificers, and a new interest was thus formed in opposition to the powerful nobility. This third state adhered to the monarch and the great lords, from whom it obtained liberties which gave it security. The people of this class gradually flocked to cities which afforded them the safety founded upon union; and several cities often formed alliances with each other. Already, under the house of Henry the First and Conrad the Second, the rights of the cities of Soest, Cologne, Magdeburg, and

Lubeck, became examples to other places, and the towns* founded by the dukes of Zæring soon showed that freemen can do nothing better to secure their independence than to assemble themselves in numerous communities.

SECTION V.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

The affairs of the empire were in this situation when, at the death of Conrad the Third, his nephew Frederick, surnamed from his red beard, in the flower of his age, and already illustrious by military exploits, became emperor of Germany. A. D. 1152.

The beginning of his administration had been distinguished by praiseworthy enterprises and fortunate events; and Rome had already experienced what Frederick was capable of effecting against or in favor of the papacy, when, at the demise of Hadrian the Fourth (A. D. 1159.), the cardinals found themselves unable to agree in the choice of a successor. The emperor then wrote to them, declaring that he would summon a general assembly of all Christendom. The cardinals maintained that such an undertaking belonged only to the spiritual head of the church; and they for the most part united their endeavors in favor of Alexander the Third, a prelate of distinguished courage and experience, to whom others opposed the more gentle Octavius, who assumed the name of Victor the Fourth. A synod, held by the emperor in Pavia, declared in favor of the latter. Alexander pronounced the bann of the church against his opponent; declared the emperor to have forfeited the crown; and endeavored to rouse in his own cause all the Christian courts. But the army of the emperor, at the head of which fought Christian and Reinhold, archbishops of Mentz and of Cologne, marched towards Rome, and Alexander fled to Montpellier.

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* Viz. Freiburg in the Breisgau, and Freiburg and Bern in Switzerland

Lewis the Seventh, king of France, mediated an interview at Dijon. With Frederick appeared Waldemar king of Denmark, Vladislaf king of Bohemia, both of whom had to thank the emperor for their crowns, together with the princes of the empire and a multitude of knights and lords. The king of France absented himself, and, together with Henry of England, declared in favor of Alexander, while Stephen the Third, in Hungary, took arms in his cause, and fell on the neighboring provinces of the empire. The emperor confirmed the deposition of Alexander, and maintained that in affairs relating to the papal chair the decision depended exclusively on the bishops of the empire.

In the meantime the greatest and strongest towns of Lombardy had formed a combination for establishing a free republic, and a similar spirit began anew to display itself in Rome. The cities embraced the cause of Alexander from apprehension of the imperial power; and the two great factions of the Guelphs, who favored the papacy, and the Ghibellines, in opposition to it, were now formed. A. D. 1162. The emperor entered Italy, burnt Crema, the strongly fortified Tortona, and particularly Milan, the greatest and finest town of Lombardy, adorned with splendid remains of the magnificence of the Cæsars. He ordered salt to be spread over the place where Milan had stood, and commanded that fields and meadows should be formed on the site of its ancient palaces. The neighboring towns had been faithful to him till they saw this rival of their greatness completely destroyed, and from that time they began to walk in her footsteps. The emperor then gave the fortresses into the hands of Ghibelline lords, and sought to subdue the courage of the citizens by means of German soldiery. Verona at this time became the capital of the Lombard confederacy.

At that period those mystical representations of religion were known which from remote times had been preserved in the valleys of the Alps, and spread themselves from Switzerland, from the Pays de Vaud, from the Waldensic villages and the Cevennes. They were formed in the same spirit as the simple and independent congregations of the primitive Christians, but gnostic prejudices against the cor-

poreal organization had led the communities to an overstrained rigidity of morals. It might be conjectured that the emperor would have availed himself of the aid of these people against the influence of Rome; but he joined his efforts with those of the church in opposition to them. Their notions of liberty were not compatible with his system of government, which coincided with the plans of the old Cæsars. He ordered Arnold of Brescia, an enterprising teacher of these doctrines, to be burnt, because he had favored the attempt of the nobles, with the assistance of the people, to restore the freedom of Rome. The spirit of Arnold survived, and fanned the flame of civil liberty which was now kindling on all sides.

The emperor sought to possess himself of the priestly power by the less stormy way, which the scholastic philosophy and a more accurate acquaintance with the primitive records of the Christian faith opened to him: but Latin literature was without influence on the mass of the people, and the German language was but now beginning to receive its earliest culture.

Long and severe was the struggle of the emperor against Alexander and the Lombard towns. The wars of the Roman people at this period were carried on in the same spirit as those ancient conflicts which had followed the reign of Romulus; but military tactics and discipline were wanting. A. D. 1167. From this defect arose the unfortunate events of their campaigns against Tusculum and Alba: the German forces obliged the ill-commanded multitude to take flight, in which scarcely a third part of them escaped the sword. After these victories the emperor appeared, with the aid of his partisans, before the fortress of St. Angelo. The townsmen, formed into a militia, exerted themselves valiantly in its defence; but the battering ram shook the halls of St. Peter's, and the metropolitan church of Christendom was taken by storm. Already the flames had melted the iron portal of our Lady of the Tower. The pope, with his cardinals, fled to the fortified houses of the noble Frangepani, in the neighborhood of the Coliseum. At this moment the emperor offered peace, on the condition that both the popes should resign their pretensions, and that a

free election should unite the Christian church. When Alexander observed the impression which this proposal produced, he disappeared; on the third day after he was seen by the side of a fountain near Circello. The pope had fled, and the emperor made his entry into Rome. A. D. 1167. But the intemperance of the conquerors, and the influence of a climate to which they were unused, destroyed in a short time the dukes of Swabia and Bavaria, the archbishop of Cologne, the lords of Nassau and of Lippe, and almost all the princes of the army; so that the victory most desired was to escape the pestilence, and to obtain refuge in the Apennines from the troops of the Lombard towns.

A. D. 1168. The latter restored Milan, and built Alexandria as a bulwark to that city. In a fertile district, surrounded by three rivers and by deep morasses, Milan became, in the space of a year, the abode of 15,000 warriors.

In vain the emperor now despatched the bishop of Bamberg to treat with Alexander alone, in order to render him suspected by the cities and to excite divisions. The pope, warned of the design, declared, in the conference at Veroli, that "he would enter into no discussion except in the presence of the cardinals and all the deputies of the Lombard towns." In the meantime, while Alexander was carrying on this contest with one of the most powerful of the emperors, he forced one of the greatest of the English monarchs to submit to receive stripes on the tomb of an archbishop of Canterbury, whose well-merited death had been ascribed to the hatred of the king.

Frederick had again recourse to arms, in which he was accustomed to victory; he marched over mount Cenis, burnt Suze, conquered Asti, and laid siege to Alexandria. A. D. 1174. Rainy weather had rendered the marshy soil unfit to support machines, and mining was impossible. During four months the emperor lay before this town: his army had even penetrated it by a subterranean way, when suddenly a powerful multitude of armed townsmen, from all the Lombard cities, well provided with implements, appeared before his encampment. At the same time the

citizens drove out the soldiers who had entered the town, and rushed upon the camp of the besiegers; and the emperor was obliged to make his escape after setting it on fire. After this calamity, a convention was appointed at Pavia to negotiate a treaty.

The cardinal of Ostia appeared in the name of Alexander. A. D. 1175. On account of the bann he omitted to salute the emperor, declared his concern thereat, while he testified his admiration of that monarch's great qualities. The emperor, who expected an army from Rhætia, beyond Como, sought to protract the negotiations for peace, and the Pavians prepared for taking revenge on their enemies; but as the prudence of the latter, and the dignity of Alexander, were worthy of the ancient Romans, their vigilance also was not inferior.

A. D. 1176. When these proceedings came to their knowledge, they offered, near Lignano, a decisive battle to the emperor, under the banners of St. Ambrose of Milan. Frederick distinguished himself wherever valor or wise counsel was required. The Milanese, under the Guelphs, fought furiously to revenge their country. Frederick was at length wounded. All the citizens of Como, irritated against the Milanese by the remembrance of long feuds, remained dead on the field of battle; and the Germans were at length compelled to take flight.

The emperor afterwards sued for peace, and Alexander declared, that nothing was more desirable to him than to obtain peace from the greatest warrior of the Christian world: he only entreated one thing, viz. that the emperor would impart it also to the Lombards, into whose country he would retire. The journey of the pope from Vieste to Venice was a triumphal march (A. D. 1177.): the doge Sebastiano Ziani, and the nobles of Venice, in splendid gondolas, conducted him into the town. As he performed high mass in the church of St. Mark, he is said to have bestowed upon the Venetians the empire over their sea, by presenting them with a consecrated rose. They were indeed already in possession of it, and the times of their greatness had begun.

The emperor was not so much humiliated by the power of his enemies as by the defection of his friend, Henry the

Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Henry was a brave warrior and an able statesman, and by far the most powerful prince of the empire; he owed every thing to Frederick, the predecessor of this duke having forfeited his domains to the former emperor. Henry seized a decisive moment when the monarch was suffering the pressure of calamity, in order to desert him, neglecting all the personal remonstrances of his sovereign.

In the 18th year of the schism Frederick was reconciled with pope Alexander, in the great portal of the metropolitan church at Venice. The former kissed the feet of the pontiff, who hastened to embrace him and conduct him to the altar. His engaging modesty and gentleness secured the respect which the emperor entertained towards him. The cities were confirmed, for a certain period, in the rights of which they had possessed themselves; a limitation which was in reality an invasion in favor of the imperial authority.

Alexander made a triumphal entry into Rome, which the old consuls might have envied him. This Tuscan prelate (for Alexander, as well as Gregory the Seventh, was a native of Tuscany) was the father of the Italian republics; he employed his power in moderating or abolishing personal servitude, under which a great part of their population groaned. Frederick was the greatest monarch of the Germans since the time of Henry the First; his great qualities gave him a personal authority, before which all forms are lost sight of. He respected them, however, and testified a constitutional regard for the states; while he restrained their dissensions and supported the burgesses against the nobility.

By his second marriage Frederick united the free* country of Upper Burgundy with his hereditary domains. He spared the enemies of his house, the dukes of Zæring, whose territory was important to him, on account of the pass into Italy; but he protected, against the aggressions of those chieftains, Arducius the bishop of Geneva, and en-

* Now Franche Comté.

abled him to maintain possession of his city, which was valuable on account of its situation.

When Frederick, in the commencement of his reign, had reinstated Henry the Lion in the estates of his father, he separated the margraviate of Austria, which had formerly been under a subordinate alliance with Bavaria, and formed of it a separate dukedom, the possessor of which he raised above all the princes of the empire who had not been from remote times of the rank of electors. He renewed the privileges of this chief, or bestowed new powers on his duchy, of which Austria stood in greater need than the other provinces of the empire, on account of its situation on dangerous boundaries. It was thus enabled to acquire a degree of power capable of supporting itself, and advantageous even to the other states, to which it served as a bulwark against the barbarians.

In the following book it will be related how the punishment of Henry the Lion became, in the sequel, the source whence the power of other great houses was derived.

Frederick expected many advantageous effects for his own interest in the dissemination of the old Roman jurisprudence, which in the time of his youth was introduced anew to the knowledge of the Western people. The Lombards opposed to it the feudal law, which Obert of Orto, a Milanese senator, had compiled. The emperor sought to found his authority on a secure footing, by a law which he enacted on the plains of Roncale, in conjunction with the nobles and the cities; and was well pleased to observe that the teachers in the newly erected university of Bologna, applied maxims deduced from the situation of affairs under the first Cæsars, to his own empire and his imperial rights.

He retained, notwithstanding his calamity at Lignano, such an ascendency, and his son Henry the Sixth, who, during his father's life, was elected king of the Romans, became afterwards so much more powerful, that the ideas of the Bolognese professors appeared to be something more important than mere dreams or words of adulation.

SECTION VI.

OF THE ABBOT SUGER AND THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.

A monk of humble station and of unattractive exterior, the abbot Suger, of St. Denys, who was minister of the French kings Lewis the Fat and Lewis the Younger, during the first years of Frederick Barbarossa, laid, by his wise counsels and unobserved measures, a firm foundation for the subsequent developement of the French nation, and the aggrandizement of their kings.

Lewis the Sixth had not that character which alarms the jealousy of the great, but he possessed enough penetration to understand the designs of Suger. The nation had perceived, in the wars against the English and against the emperor Henry the Fifth, that a greater power in the hands of the kings was desirable for the public welfare: but this idea penetrated more deeply into their minds when the monarch had undertaken in earnest the protection of justice in his courts, the administration of which had often suffered from the ignorance or the passions of rude and impetuous barons. The best preparation for introducing alterations into the government of a country, is to direct the attention to those institutions which are defective in it, or which are most tardy in their performance. The king offered himself as the protector of the helpless, of freedmen, and of those who wished to become free; of the burgesses assembled in towns, who sought only security for their persons and estates, and did not, like the nobles, aim at placing themselves on an equality with the king.

A. D. 1137. Lewis the Seventh had been so conscientious as to restore Guienne, the hereditary estate of his wife Eleanor of Guienne (A. D. 1152.), when he repudiated her on account of an intrigue with a young Turk, in which she had been detected, while she accompanied the king in his crusade. After a few weeks she married Henry Plantagenet of Anjou, who soon afterwards became king of England. From that time the French nobles were more

jealous of Henry than of their own monarch, who was in reality less powerful; so that the latter might venture upon any measures in opposition to the English, and his plans for the increase of his own power appeared necessary for the good of the nation.

The plan adopted by the king, of collecting the freemen in towns, became advantageous also to the subjects of the nobility; for the latter found themselves under the necessity of imitating the example.

The establishment of towns occasioned an increase of trades, by which the commonalty became rich, and were enabled to contribute to the support of the king; and they received so much the greater share of the royal favor. Hence arose the states general of the nation, which were not the old national assemblies of the Franks, but were substituted in the place of them. But these political alterations took place at a later period: Lewis the Sixth only administered the affairs of his own dukedom, in which he was often interrupted by the nobles of France.

SECTION VII.

ENGLAND LOSES HER CONSTITUTION.

A. D. 1042. The English availed themselves of the anarchy which ensued after the sons of Canute had died without issue, in order to restore the Anglo-Saxon dynasty; and they had the good fortune to obtain, through the care of Edward the Third, a compilation of their national laws (A. D. 1066.): but after his decease disturbances arose, which inflicted wounds on the liberty and constitution of England, that were not healed for several centuries.

A. D. 1067. William, duke of Normandy, conquered England, after defeating king Harold, who had been elected by the last Anglo-Saxon Wittenagemote, or national assembly. The conqueror exacted feudal service even for allodial estates which the English had obtained, not from the crown, but by the arms of their forefathers. Hence they were degraded from the rank of comrades of the king into that of subjects. William took care that they should

be sensibly reminded of this dependence. At their marriages he became the protector of their children; and received, during the minority of the latter, the revenues of their estates, of which he prevented the free alienation by the feudal laws. His legal code contained a mixture of feudal observances, which he had chosen to adopt, with the reasons of state in which a conqueror finds motives or excuses for his actions.

From that time forward wars were no longer carried on by the resolutions of the Wittenagemote: Englishmen were under an obligation to serve in every war of the king, at least during forty days; and the mode of reckoning to be adopted depended on the will of the monarch. The whole of England, with relation to its military constitution, was divided into sixty thousand fiefs, each appropriated to the support of a knight.

The whole aspect of society was new; a foreign and unknown law governed the country. Wood and water were regal possessions, and these assumed rights were used by the first kings, without moderation, and in a manner too obtrusive.

After the powerful tyranny of the Conqueror, and the formidable caprices of his son William had ceased (A. D. 1100.), Henry the First, who ascended the throne in the place of his elder brother, found himself under the necessity of seeking to gain the affection of the nation; and thus the yoke, which would otherwise have depressed its character, was at length rendered more easy. A. D. 1135. Equally advantageous in its effects was the contest for the succession, which ensued between Stephen of Boulogne, the nephew of the last king, and his grandson, Henry of Anjou; as well as the humiliating misfortunes to which the latter, a prince of uncommon talents, was reduced. A. D. 1154. Henry the Second had to contend now against the contumacy, now against the vehement avengers, of the insolent archbishop Thomas a Becket; and afterwards to sustain the more afflicting dissensions which his consort, the heiress of Guienne, had fomented among his sons.

Henry adopted one measure which was likely to restrain the barons from restoring the freedom of the Anglo-Saxon

government: he damped their military ardor by permitting them to purchase exemption from personal service in warfare. In the time of Stephen, the levying of mercenary soldiers had been attempted by William of Ypres: the hired troops were termed Rottieri, and Brabanzons, from the country by whose superabundant population they were furnished. Hence, with the aid of the sums paid by the nobles for exemption, armies were formed, which served the monarch unconditionally, and enabled him to acquire greater power over the nation.

The English were restrained from attempting to recover their liberty, by the Normans, to whom the Conqueror had granted extensive fiefs. The latter, who were accustomed to be treated as vassals and as warriors, according to military principles, felt that their fortunes depended on maintaining the power of the throne. They stood in the same relation to the former, and adhered to it as the soldiers of Sylla to the party of the true republicans.

The parliament was for a long time a body without a soul, until the contests for the succession to the throne gave weight to the voices of the vassals. "Friends and liege subjects," said Henry the First, "it is known to you, that God had called my brother to become king of Jerusalem, and that he has not accounted himself to be worthy of that honor." (Robert was present at the first crusade, and probably received this offer after the taking of Jerusalem.) "Cruelty," he continued, "is his delight, and you (addressing the barons) he despises as a company of idle profligates. I, whom you know to be just, and fond of peace, and of approved fidelity in all my proceedings, pledge myself to you, both my foreign and home-born subjects, if you will stand by me, to respect your liberties, and patiently listen to your prudent counsels. Whenever you desire it, I swear to observe the laws which king Edward, of pious memory, not without the help of God, has established in these realms. Lend your aid, brethren, and English courage shall put the boasting foreigners to shame."* This prince indeed suppressed the burdensome feudal imposts, and the law of the

* See Matthew Paris. Edit. Watts, p. 62.

curfew, which obliged every householder to extinguish his fires and lights at the tolling of a bell; ordinances which were found intolerable to the English.

A. D. 1154. Henry the Second, after the example of the French kings, and with greater effect, sought to gain respect for the crown by an equitable administration of justice. He divided England into six districts, over which he appointed as many judges, who were ordered to traverse them at fixed times, and take cognizance of all complaints, which had arisen from ignorance or partiality in the inferior courts. He favored the towns, and encouraged trade and the productive arts. The market of London was already the resort of many foreign merchants.

Sixty thousand men formed the infantry, and twenty thousand cavalry completed the military force of the country. Montgomery, and other frontier towns, restrained the ancient Britons in Wales from sudden incursions into England. At Chester, Pembroke, Durham, and Huxham, counts palatine were stationed, armed with full powers for suppressing sudden disturbances.

A. D. 1171. Ireland, the theatre of factious disputes between numerous chieftains, afforded an easy conquest to the arms of Henry the Second. At the council of Lismore, he abolished the old country law, according to which the Breones had judged the Irish, and which might be reckoned an institution for barbarism and disorder: but the people conceived such a hatred against the laws of a foreign ruler, that they became estranged from all the regulations of civil order, and remained the longer in a state of wild and unsocial independence.

Richard the First, son of Henry, during his abode in the island of Oleron, promulgated the first maritime law.

With respect to the history of the Scots, who had visited Caledonia in early times, but according to some writers first made a final settlement there in the ninth century, we have only to remark, that their kings were constantly employed in maintaining their independence against the Normans and English. What information the old sagas of this people have preserved concerning their internal history, has not as yet been sufficiently investigated. Many me-

morials of the old time were destroyed by the English king Edward the First, when that prince attempted to rob the Scottish nation of its independence.

SECTION VIII.

THE NORTHERN NATIONS.

The Norman people became more illustrious in the countries they had conquered, than the kings of Norway among the sovereign potentates of Europe.

The Swedes and Goths united themselves under one monarchy, in which a Goth of Swercher's house, and a Swede of the family of Erich, alternately held the throne. These princes would have attained a higher degree of power if the impatient desire of reigning had not brought most of them to an untimely death (A. D. 1153.); in consequence of which the cultivation of social habits was impeded, while all authority depended on physical strength, and enterprising princes were restrained by no law. The violence of faction was so great, that after all the house of Woden, the Heraclidæ of Sweden, had become extinct, foreigners were invited to assume the crown.

The Danes harassed the northern coasts of Germany: it was not to them that this rude country could look for the benefit of religion and civil order. Otho, bishop of Bamberg, sprung from the house of the counts of Andechs, and in his earlier years known to the duke of Poland, undertook the conversion of the Pomeranians. His learning, his zeal, and the influence of the Christian states, which pressed hard on every side of Pomerania, overcame the worship of Swandewid, *the all-seeing*, and gave an easy entrance to the religion of the Christians, against which the Pomeranian town of Julin in vain opposed its arms. The victorious banners of Henry the Lion completed this work, and brought the princes of the Wends, at Mecklenburgh, into the faith of Christendom and the league of the German empire. From that time their duke Pribislaf reigned peaceably with the assistance of his four counts.

Long before the period at which the history of these countries opens itself to our view, Wineta had been a centre of communication, where the productions of a pastoral country, and of the few and imperfect arts which then existed, were bartered for the wares of merchants who visited these seas. On a sudden the soil gave way, and the city sunk into the sea; the great Wineta vanished, and its ruins are hidden shoals, where marble and alabaster at the bottom of the sea bear testimony to its splendor in former times. Julin afterwards became the seat of the opulence and trade of Pomerania. This town was not so magnificent, though it was more extensive than Wineta. Julin rejected the doctrine of Christianity. Lightning set fire to the wooden houses in its narrow streets, and the whole city fell a prey to the flames. Thenceforward the plain of Pomerania was divided among smaller towns: Lubeck, Stettin and Dantzic attained to the highest rank on the whole south coast of the Baltic sea.

Poland was divided among hereditary princes, who by intestine wars maintained indeed the love of arms among their subjects, but could not uphold the independence of the nation against the united power of the Germans. The influence of the latter with that of the Christian missionaries, to whom Mstislaw at length gave ear, brought the barbarians of Sarmatia nearer to the culture of social life. Lithuania still maintained its gods and unpolished manners. This country was at that time disjoined from Poland, while Silesia was included in it.

A. D. 1158. The country of the Samoiedes, Curland and Livonia became more accurately known to the western Europeans, by means of some merchants from Bremen who were thrown by a storm upon the inhospitable coast. The shipwrecked persons were attacked by the people of the country; but the latter were softened by the sight of the merchandise in the hands of the foreigners. The Bremeners, in order to explore the country, went up the Dwina: they built a wooden warehouse where Herkuil now stands, and introduced missionaries into the country in order to civilize the Livonians.

A. D. 1147. In the Russian empire Novgorod was

extensive, flourishing, and attached to freedom more than all the other cities. By slow degrees there arose on the banks of the Moskwa, in which the czar George Dolgorukoi delighted, a city that was destined one day to eclipse the fame of Novgorod. A wooden dwelling, where the czar devoted his secret hours to an unlawful attachment, gave the first occasion to the building of Moscow.

His son Andreas Bogolubskoi, czar at Susdal and Rostow (the empire being now divided), conquered on the shores of the Volga the countries of the barbarous Tcheremisses, Tschuvasches, and Merdwines, three tribes of Tartars. The Merdwines still worship the gods of their ancestors, and next to them St. Nicholas; their prayer is a short invocation, "Give food, Oh God, to every country!" Among the Tschuvasches, Tor has yet his worshippers; and that people still dread the evil spirit that dwells in the waters. Witches are much reverenced among them, and horse flesh is their favorite food.

The same czar, Andreas Bogolubskoi, conquered the old seats of the Bulgarians; whence, in the seventh century, innumerable hordes had emigrated to ancient Mysia and to lower Italy. They now ruled with great power on the banks of the Kuma, and were enriched by commerce.

SECTION IX.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

A. D. 1081. Alexius Comnenus, a prince of great experience and uncommon endowments, gave, during a reign of thirty-seven years, to the imperial throne of the Greeks, a degree of stability which the external circumstances of the empire had never more urgently required. For on one side the power of the Seljukian Turks was advancing with the rapid fortune peculiar to a newly founded dynasty; on the other, Robert Guiscard pushed his enterprises against Durazzo and ventured even to Larissa; while all the provinces of the empire were convulsed by the crusade, and the Russians pressed on its northern frontiers.

Alexius, with the art of a statesman and with successful exertions, withstood every foe. He found a historian, who raised herself above the character of her age, in his daughter Anna Comnena, who possessed a genius worthy of her father, and employed hours, which against her inclination she was obliged to spend far from the affairs of government, in composing a history of his life.

At the same period the old book of Indian philosophy, termed Bidpaï, was translated at Constantinople; some distinguished persons of the house of Seth having at this time endeavored to penetrate into the hidden treasures of Oriental learning. Knowledge was sought by many as the path to dignity and fame. John the Fair, son of Alexius, and Manuel, son of John, found in Cinnamus, who lived in intimacy with these emperors, a biographer whose work is very interesting, though too full of panegyric. The courtier Zonaras, who was driven into a life of seclusion by a mind broken by misfortunes, composed in his retirement a historical book in which he has handed down many facts which would have been otherwise unknown. Shortly before the fall of the Comnene dynasty, Nicetas of Chone enjoyed the highest honors of the court; his very instructive history is equally valuable for its honest veracity, and attractive by the warm attachment of the author to his sinking country.

In the West the office of the historian fell for the most part to the lot of monks and abbots; among whom Otho, bishop of Freysing, sprung from the princely house of Austria, was less honorably distinguished by his illustrious rank than by enlightened learning, a sound judgment, and an impartiality which exceeds expectation. The new modes of representation in theology and philosophy flourished more than all other sciences. Although the way of observation and experience, though the discrimination of self-evident truth and moral rectitude by the consenting voice of the human understanding in its sound state, belongs as little to the style of philosophy practised in that age as the pursuit of public utility, yet we cannot fail to discover, in the works of Anselm of Canterbury and Peter Abelard, the marks of profound reflection and comprehensive genius. The latter of these writers is distinguished by the eloquence of the

heart, as the abbot Bernhard of Clairvaux by the richness of his imagination. The influence of Bernhard on the character of his age, renders the study of his manner important for those who would discriminate the genius of nations.

A. D. 1118. The emperor John, son of Alexius, maintained with heroic valor and consummate prudence the boundaries of the empire, which were threatened on every side. A. D. 1143. Manuel, his son, fought like a brave warrior rather than a cautious general: yet his politic administration enabled him to transmit the empire with undiminished glory and extent to his posterity.

SECTION X.

OF THE COMMANDERS OF THE FAITHFUL.

The pristine strength of the Seljukian Turks, who had ruled with a powerful sway in the empire of the Arabs, had declined from the effect of internal divisions and relaxation of manners. Between the sultans of this dynasty, who held their residence at Iconium, and the emperors of the Comnene house, wars were carried on with alternations of fortune. In Bagdad the commander of the Faithful, Moktafi Ebn Mostadher, emancipated himself from the power of the sultan (A. D. 1153.), and deemed himself happy to be the sovereign of his own palace. Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Spain, visited Bagdad at this era (A. D. 1171.), and has left us a valuable narrative, which is only in a few places deformed or completely spoilt by the excessive partiality of the author for his own people.

A. D. 1153. In eastern Asia, the dynasty which ruled at Gasna and over Hindustan, fell before the arms of Alaeddin Hossain, sultan of Ghaur. This prince conquered Multan and made himself master of Delhi. In the treasury of the Gasnevide sultan he found three thousand pounds weight of diamonds.

Soon, however, his generals rendered themselves independent of the sovereigns of his house (A. D. 1206.); and

the weakened empire fell a prey to the sultans of Choresmia, who were lords of a great part of Persia.

From the confines of their country to Iconium, the Turks ruled under the posterity of Kutlumish, son of Arslaw Yapgu, the son of Seljuk.

Syria and Egypt acknowledged the sway of the Fatimide sultans of Kahira.

SECTION XI.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

In the wars which the Fatimide princes carried on with the Seljukian Turks, the visier of the Egyptian sultan, Abul Kasem Mostali, had recently defended the sovereignty of his master over Jerusalem, when the nations of Europe suddenly spread themselves over Asia. A. D. 1096. Pope Urban, at the synod of Clermont, stirred up the people of Christendom, already prepared by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, to deliver the holy sepulchre from the possession of infidels. This enthusiasm seized upon old men, women, and children. The promise of pardon for sins, holy reverence, and the influence of curiosity; the spirit of adventures, the hope of gaining thrones and dominions, and the certain expectation of sitting in the next world as judges over the infidels; were the moving causes which incited mortals of all descriptions, without distinction of rank or age, to rush by hundreds of thousands to this achievement. In the meantime the wars of the Europeans among themselves were laid aside.

Three brothers, named Godfrey, Eustace, and Baldwin, the eldest of whom was duke of Lower Lorraine and Brabant, and, on his mother's side, heir of Bouillon; Robert duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; Hugh of France, brother of Philip the First; Raymond of St. Giles, count of Toulouse, with a vast multitude of lords and knights; the noble Walter of the town of Limoges, accompanied by his lion, which he had saved from the fangs of a serpent, and which never deserted his deliverer; and a

thousand high-born chieftains from all the countries of western Christendom, followed by their vassals, bondsmen, and comrades, rushed forth in the 1096th year of the Christian era, without a king or any acknowledged leader of their hosts, and hastened by sea and land, from the farthest shores of the ocean to Jerusalem, to fight and to pray on those sacred spots which the Son of God had honored by his presence and sufferings.

After having by their want of order and temperance exposed the emperor Alexius to imminent perils, from which his own presence of mind could alone extricate him, the crusaders possessed themselves of the city of Nicæa, which not many years before had fallen into the hands of Sultan Suleyman, son of Kutlumish the Seljuk prince. They conquered also Laodicæa: but, incapable of giving effect to the exploits of valor by prudent measures, they left their conquests exposed to the aggravated vengeance of the Turks; who sacrificed to their fury ten thousand of the inhabitants of Smyrna. During the siege of Antioch, many of the crusaders separated themselves to return home or go in quest of new adventures. Boemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, equal to his father in good and evil actions, a valiant but base man, became prince of Antioch; and Baldwin of Edessa, and Bertrand, son of Raymond of St. Giles, count of Tripoli.

While the fruitful fields of Cilicia and Syria supported the crusaders with provisions, the archbishop Adimbert of Pisa arrived with a reinforcement of a hundred and twenty ships. Pisa was the mistress of the Tuscan sea, of Sardinia and the Balearic islands; and often ventured to oppose its power to the Neapolitan Normans.

A. D. 1099. The coasts of Syria were conquered; and at Tyre the forces were united which had separated from the siege of Antioch. The crusaders approached Jerusalem. Thirty-nine days they lay before the walls: on the seventh of June they mounted them; but the height on which the temple had stood still held out. Every thing, however, yielded to rage and fanaticism, and seventy thousand persons were sacrificed by the victorious crusaders, who burnt all the Jews in their own synagogue. After the

city had been purified, duke Godfrey was elected by the troops to be king of Palestine; who governed, however, with the concurrence of a council of the chieftains, and gave to his new kingdom assizes according to the customs and constitution of the French.

In vain the Fatimide Mostali drew out his forces to oppose the crusaders in the field of Ascalon; and in vain the general of the Seljuke Turks withstood them at Antioch. Religious enthusiasm incited them to almost supernatural exploits.

Three orders of religious knighthood had their origin at Jerusalem, two of which still flourish. Already, before the crusade, many persons had associated themselves in a fraternity for the care of the infirm pilgrims in the hospital of St. John: they were formed into an order of the Knights Hospitalers of St. John by Baldwin, brother and successor of Godfrey king of Jerusalem, and Raymond du Puy, or de Podio, was the first grand master. A. D. 1120. Hugh des Payens, of the house of the counts of Champagne, Godfrey of St. Adhemar, and seven other brothers, formed the Knights Templars (A. D. 1122.), who vowed to the patriarch of Jerusalem to protect pilgrims against robbers, to live in celibacy, in obedience to their superiors, and without private possessions. The king, the chiefs, and barons of France, solicited Bernhard of Clairvaux to prescribe them a formal rule. It was a part of their vow to be the first in battle and the last in the retreat. The Teutonic order was established at a later period.

The power of the Franks extended from the mountains of Armenia to the Egyptian confines (A. D. 1144.); but upwards of forty years after the conquest of Jerusalem, Edessa was retaken by Atabek of Mausel. The fear of the progress of the infidels roused the zeal of the pious abbot of Clairvaux, who persuaded the princes to undertake a second crusade. A. D. 1147. The emperor Conrad, eager for warlike fame, king Lewis the Seventh, and many nobles from both kingdoms, and from the Netherlands and England, took the cross. Many of those who went by sea completed in their way the laudable exploit of liberating Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, from the Moslemic yoke.

The emperor came by land by way of Constantinople, whence he made his entry, after many disasters, into Asia Minor. The siege of the Seljuke capital, Iconium, the sultan of which had entered into a league with the Greek emperor against the invaders, reduced the German army to a complete dispersion. The French king was not more fortunate, against whose troops Mogireddin Abek defended Damascus with the secret connivance of the Franks of Palestine. National jealousies, irregularities of all kinds, famine, and diseases, destroyed the multitude: the knights of Palestine feared the arrogance of their countrymen; the enterprise was frustrated, and the kingdom of Jerusalem began to decline.

SECTION XII.

THE MOWAHEDDINS.

About the same time the dominion of the Zeïridæ, in the countries around Tunis, came to its conclusion. A. D. 1148. These monarchs had lost Sicily through the valor and ability of two Norman princes who bore the name of Roger, the elder of whom was a warrior of the house of Hauteville, and founded a domain in Sicily: the latter, his son, united the whole island under his sceptre and wise legislation. A. D. 1154.

As the Morabethes, who from the time of Yussuf had ruled Maroco and Arabian Spain, had been indebted for the rapid progress of their confederation to the zeal of newly kindled fanaticism; so their greatest calamities were inflicted upon them by the enthusiasm of a prophet (A. D. 1119.): Mahdi Mohammed, son of Abdullah, son of Ibn Tumrot, a preacher of the purest Islam, having been exiled from Maroco, founded, with the aid of Abd-el-Mumen, a powerful man of Telemsan, the confederation of the Mowaheddins, or "worshippers of the only true God." This party undertook to avenge his cause; they jointly erected a city on the coast, and gained victories over the subjects of the Morabethe princes.

They were invited by the Zeïridæ of Tunis to assist

them against the power of Roger king of Sicily, and they gave effectual succor. Flushed with this success, Abd-el-Mumen ventured to lay siege to Maroco. The Morabethes defended their capital with that zeal to which they had been indebted for all their victories; and the siege cost Abd-el-Mumen a hundred thousand men. His perseverance at length triumphed after the strength of the besieged was exhausted. After reducing Maroco, the Mowaheddins extended their sway along the northern coast of Africa from Egypt to the Strait (A. D. 1147.), which they passed, and afterward conquered Algarva, Seville, Grenada, and Murcia. They maintained their acquisitions against the humbled Morabethes, and against the arms of the Normans and the Spaniards who were in the full career of victory.

SECTION XIII.

SPAIN.

In Spain, the siege of Toledo was an enterprise highly interesting to all the nations of southern Europe. Alfonso, king of Leon, had been driven from his country by his brother Sancho, king of Castile. The Arabian prince of Toledo had given him such a reception as the laws and customs of the Arabs enjoined them to afford strangers, especially when in want of succor. When, after the death of his brother, Alfonso returned home to assume the crowns of Castile and Leon, he vowed to the Arabs an inviolable friendship. But Almamun and his son at length died; his grandson Yahia-el-Kabir Billah had rendered himself the object of hatred and contempt, and Alfonso then conducted the most illustrious knights of Christendom to assault Toledo. The Tagus on three sides surrounds the city, which is situated on rocks: the access to it was excellently fortified; the defence was heroical, but victory was the reward of Castilian perseverance. Thus the old capital of the Visigoths fell again into the power of the Christians. A. D. 1080.

SECTION XIV.

PORTUGAL.

A remarkable fate attended Henry, a knight who distinguished himself before Toledo, sprung from the house of the counts of Upper Burgundy. Alfonso, in order to conciliate this valiant youth to his service, gave him the command over the conquests which the kings of Leon had made in the mountains on the western coast towards the mouths of the Tagus and the Duero. Henry married Theresa Guzman, the daughter of the king, born, as it is said, out of lawful wedlock. Urraca, the heiress of the king, espoused Raymond, the kinsman of Henry.

From that time forward count Henry held his abode at Guimaraens, in the country between the Duero and the Minho: he took the city of Porto, which gave its name to a district, and continued, during his life, to wage wars with the unbelievers. When the king, his father-in-law, died (A. D. 1109.), the domain over which he ruled became his own, with the royal dignity which he inherited by his consort. A. D. 1112.

When his son, count Alfonso, arrived at adult age, he continued the warlike career of his father, and conquered the beautiful plains of Alentejo. The leaders of the Arabs united their strength, and fought against him, near Ourique, with superior forces. A. D. 1139. The count sought encouragement in remembering the wonderful things which the Lord had done by Gibeon, with far inferior numbers, for the deliverance of Israel. Wearied with exertion, he fell asleep, and beheld in a dream a venerable old man. In the morning a hermit, like the form he had seen in the night, came to the camp, and entreated the count to visit him on the following evening in his cell. The count repaired thither. He beheld a shining figure which appeared in the east, approached and eclipsed the splendor of the starry heavens. "I am the Lord Jesus," said the apparition; "thy arms, Alfonso, are blessed. I set thee as a king

over thy people: for sixteen generations my favor shall not depart from thy house; and even further than this it shall descend." Alfonso, inflamed by the power of his imagination, or instructed by the crafty hermit, infused his own confidence among his warriors, and gained the victory. On the field of battle he was saluted by his army king of Portugal. A. D. 1112—1185. He merited the surname of the Conqueror; he reigned victoriously and with honor to an old age, and transmitted his kingdom, with peculiar laws of descent, to his posterity. The succession to the throne was thus settled at the council of the kingdom at Lamego: "That every king should be succeeded by his son; by his daughter, if he had no son; or by his brother, if his daughter was married into foreign lands."

SECTION XV.

CONCLUSION.

Thus, during the 11th and 12th centuries, the civilized world became divided into a number of states of small or moderate extent, while the progress of agriculture and of trade began to elevate the class of citizens. Civilized nations acknowledged either the pope, or the patriarch of Constantinople, or the emir-el-mumenim at Bagdad, or the fatimide chalif at Kahira, as their spiritual chief. But the antiquated power of the chalifs was approaching its dissolution, and the patriarch was under the power of the emperor; while the papacy alone was yet in the full vigor of newly established power.

BOOK XVI.

THE AGE IN WHICH THE PAPAL ASCENDENCY ATTAINED ITS HIGHEST PITCH.—FROM A. D. 1177 TO 1269.

SECTION I.

THE EMPIRE OF GERMANY: BAVARIA.

The emperor Frederick Barbarossa was, with the exception of the pope, whose dominion was of a peculiar nature the most powerful of the princes of Christendom. A. D. 1180. He took ample revenge on duke Henry the Lion, by degrading him from his honors, and declaring him an outlaw. The German princes of the neighboring states enriched themselves at the expense of Henry; who, in the end, retained nothing but his allodial possessions of Brunswick and Luneburg.

At this conjuncture the house of Wittelsbach rose to distinction in Bavaria: this family deduced its origin from the old Agilulfian princes of the Bavarians, and in later times had possessed, under the title of counts palatine, at Scheyer, a territorial dominion, which could not be compared with that of the Guelphs. Otho became, on this occasion, duke of Bavaria, of which Munich, the capital, had recently been built by the unfortunate duke Henry.

The emperor Frederick the Second afterwards gave to duke Lewis, heir of Otho, the palatinate of the Rhine (A. D. 1215.), which had been intrusted to Henry, son of Henry the Lion. Here, as in a royal domain, the counts palatine, in the capacity of representatives of the monarch, exercised civil and judicial prerogatives, such as belonged to no other chief: hence their power in these scattered territories is not limited, as among the Bavarian people, by the rights of the provincial states. Their particular patronage of the order of the knights of St. John, their privilege

of seizing strange persons, their participation with the principal dukes in the election of the monarch, their administration of his powers during a vacation of the throne; all these, and other prerogatives, emanated from the particular relation which the counts palatine bore to the monarch. It may, however, also be observed, that as the kings, from ancient times, disposed arbitrarily of territories, and especially conferred many grants on the church, the palatinate county on the Rhine is broken by a number of domains, which are chiefly ecclesiastical possessions. The present state of these governments has derived its origin from the ancient tenure and constitution of the office of count palatine.

Under the succeeding dukes Bavaria was separated from the palatinate by one of those divisions of territory and dominion which were so fashionable in those times, and half a century elapsed before they became re-united. Further divisions, misfortunes, and political errors, deprived the dukes of their participation in the imperial elections, and the house of Wittelsbach was prevented, by its own faults, from attaining to that degree of power which the excellence of its territory seemed to promise it.

SECTION II.

AUSTRIA.

A. D. 1186. About the same time the dukes of Austria, descendants of Leopold count of Babensberg, a line of valiant princes, gained possession of the Mark of Stiria, by the bequest of Ottocar, who governed it with the ducal title; and while the king of Bohemia, after the house of Babensberg, held the dominion of Austria with the willing or forced consent of the states, the duchy of Carinthia, in the old Slavonian territory, came to be united with the above-mentioned inheritance. A. D. 1269.

Military talents had laid the foundation of the Austrian power: the wise and gentle conduct of the margrave Leopold, who, after the death of his first consort, married the daughter of the emperor Henry the Fourth, the mother of

the Hohenstaufens, bestowed on his house a degree of splendid distinction, which acquired the ducal crown for his son the margrave, Henry Jasomirgott (A. D. 1156.), and obtained for himself an alliance with the imperial house of the Comneni. A. D. 1190. This high distinction was maintained by Leopold, who performed the crusade, by his personal exploits; and by his son, who bore the same name, by the softer glory of a beneficent and wise administration. A. D. 1231. With Frederick, a prince who had the virtues and faults of a warrior, the house became extinct (A. D. 1246.); whereupon, after a long interval of anarchy, Ottocar, king of Bohemia, as we have above mentioned, gained possession of Austria and Stiria, and governed them with vigor and with highly meritorious services.

SECTION III.

BRANDENBURG.

On the ruins of the power of Henry the Lion, the house of Anhalt laid the foundation of its future greatness. When Henry's father had been outlawed, and Bavaria given up to Austria (A. D. 1139.), Conrad the Third had intrusted the duchy of Saxony to Albert the Bear; and when, on the restoration of the son, Austria was declared independent of Bavaria, Albert, on surrendering Saxony, had stipulated that his hereditary domains in that country should be erected into a margraviate independent of the duchy, and invested with sovereign power. A. D. 1142.

Albert was a son of Otho of Ballenstett and Aschersleben, to whom his consort Eilico, daughter of the last Billungian duke of Saxony, had brought Soltwedel and Brandenburg, allodial possessions of the Billungen. This mark was the germ of that power which is now under the sway of a royal dynasty. Brandenburg was an ancient town on the Havel, and the surrounding territory an extensive sandy waste, and at Soltwede the court was held. But Albert conquered the middle mark, as well as that which lies on the lake of Uker, together with Prigniss, in the war in which

he assisted Henry the Lion against Nicolas of Mecklenburg, prince of the Wends. He availed himself of the numerous population of Flanders, in order to supply his mark with industrious husbandmen and artificers.

About the same period, when the first duke of Austria laid the foundation of Vienna, in the site of the ancient Vindobona, the first independent margrave of Brandenburg gave a beginning to Berlin. A. D. 1162.

SECTION IV.

SAXONY.

While Otho, the first-born son of Albert, governed the margraviate, the duchy of Saxony was given by Frederick, after the misfortunes of Henry the Lion, to Bernard, the second son. A. D. 1180. That duchy retained now only the shadow of its former greatness; for it comprehended little more than the electoral circle around Wittenberg, and the plains around Lauenburg, upon the Elbe, beyond the domains of Brunswick Luneburg.

Afterwards the sons of Bernard divided their possessions, so that Albert, the eldest, became lord of the Saxon territories, and the younger, Henry, of the old territory of Anhalt. A. D. 1212.

A. D. 1260. On the demise of Albert, the dukedom in the vicinity of Wittenberg devolved on his son of the same name, and Lauenburg to duke Hauns; for the appellation of duke was in this house a family title. In this manner every possession was particularized; and if the connecting authority of the supreme head of the empire had remained unimpaired, these approaches to the original relations of families could not fail to have recommended themselves by their manifest advantages.

SECTION V.

BRUNSWICK.

The allodial domains of Brunswick and Luneburg remained to the heirs of Henry the Lion; comprising a territory at that time but little cultivated, and in many places scarcely susceptible of much improvement, which was condemned to revere, in the possession of strangers, the forfeited honors of its native dukes. Otho, son of William, son of Henry the Lion, emancipated himself from this dependence. A. D. 1235. At a diet held at Mentz, he surrendered to the emperor Frederick his allodial possessions, and received them, with the title of duke, as a princely fief which was hereditary even on the daughter's side.

His ancestor, Henry the Proud, had been ruined by the disfavor of the emperor Conrad the Third; his grandfather, Henry the Lion, by the revenge of Frederick the First; his uncle Otho, who bore the imperial crown, suffered by the enmity of Frederick the Second, which also destroyed Henry, his other uncle, the count palatine on the Rhine. Otho remained faithful to the emperor, and obtained the above-mentioned and other important benefits; and transmitted his domains to his posterity, of whose possessions, in all parts of the world, they now form only an insignificant part.

SECTION VI.

THURINGIA, MEISSEN, AND HESSIA.

The landgraves of Thuringia, an ancient and illustrious family, had flourished since the time of that Henry who was raised to the imperial dignity by the enemies of the emperor Frederick the Second. On his demise, his domains were divided among his nephews. A. D. 1247. Henry of Brabant, son of Sophia, daughter of his elder brother,

became lord of Lower Hessia; and Henry, margrave of Meissen, son of his sister, landgrave of Thuringia.

The margrave of Meissen had sprung from a house which seems to have deduced its origin from the old leaders of the Saxons. This family was greatly enriched by the discovery of the mines in the Erzgebürge: from that time forwards they availed themselves of the advantage of ruling over the confines of civilized and barbarous nations, and of the natural faculties of their subjects, who were for the most part Slavonians, in order to encourage the growth of industry and commerce. They endowed the market of Leipzig with privileges which enticed citizens and foreign merchants. A. D. 1157. Thither Bohemia sent her arms and iron wares; the wines of France were transported through Leipzig to the northern countries, and thither the barbarians resorted to purchase cloth. Under the same margrave who obtained possession of Thuringia, the mines were so productive that that nobleman was commonly supposed to be rich enough to purchase the kingdom of Bohemia. At the splendid tournament which he held at Nordhausen (A. D. 1236.), a massive tree of silver was seen with golden apples. Henry besides understood so well the interests of commerce, that the merchants even of hostile countries obtained safe conduct and protection when they resorted to the market of Leipzig. With so many pretensions to fame, he combined a poetic genius, which he possessed in an eminent degree.

We have thus shown in what situation the disgrace of Henry the Lion placed Bavaria and Saxony, and what illustrious houses arose in those districts. A few years after this event, the emperor Frederick the First, on the following occasion, undertook the third crusade.

SECTION VII.

THE SULTAN SALAHEDDIN.

The power of the Fatimide sultans of Kahira, which had suffered much from the loss of Palestine and Syria, sus-

tained the last blow from Nureddin Mohammed, Atabek of Mausel, whom a weak vizier had invited to the support of the Fatimides, and whom the commander of the Faithful, after he had already gained possession of Syria, invested with the sovereignty of Egypt. In vain the kings of Jerusalem, as the house of David had formerly done, sought to preserve a balance of power: the strength of their kingdom fell with the heroic king Amaure. A. D. 1171. The Turks under Shirakah, the son of Sadi, conquered Egypt. Salaeddin Joseph, whom we name Saladin, son of Nadjweddin Eyub, the son of Sadi, was saluted by the army and confirmed by the sultan, who loved him, but at length sacrificed him to jealousy, as governor of that country, over which he finally ruled as sultan, with the name of Malek-en-Nasr. This warrior of Kurdistan restored the religious authority of the commanders of the Faithful, and seated himself in the throne of Aded-ledin-Allah, the last Fatimide, who died in this conjuncture. Marching out from Egypt, he conquered Syria from the house of Nureddin; he took Arabia Felix out of the hands of its weak governors, and Tripoli and Tunis from the Mowaheddins. He claimed for himself the honorable patronage of the prophetic city, and in the following manner subverted the kingdom of Jerusalem.

So weakened was this state in consequence of the disastrous event of the last crusade, and since the time of king Amauri, or Almerich, that its overthrow might have happened at an earlier period, had it not been delayed by the internal feuds between the Atabeks, the Fatimides, and the Eyubites. The sceptre was now held by Guy of Lusignan; who had obtained it by poisoning his step-son Baldwin the Fifth.

The sultan Saladin having invaded the country, and laid siege to Tiberias, on the sea of Galilæa, Guy marched against him with the templars and all the nobles. The Christians were still consulting, when the sultan fell upon them by surprise. He had chosen for the battle the heat of the day, and a situation in which the sun shone with full splendor in the faces of his enemies. Then nearly all the templars and hospitalers were slain; Guy fell into the

hands of the infidels, and those who had counselled him to break the truce with Saladin were put to death. Most of the towns surrendered, and the favor of the conqueror was the reward of submission: all the inhabitants were permitted either to remain or to leave the country. Processions and fasts were held in Jerusalem; but after the sultan had taken Ascalon, he turned his arms against the capital. He lay nine days on the Mount of Olives; after which he shook the walls on the northern side, and on the fourteenth day conquered Jerusalem. A. D. 1188. Saladin made his entry with paternal clemency: he left in the possession of the Christians the sepulchre of Christ: no person suffered violence, but all had the choice of a safe retreat.

The patriarch Heraclius, the ecclesiastics, and military orders, either departed into the West, or sought refuge in the few cities on the coast, which yet remained faithful to them. William, bishop of Tyre, the historian of these times, bore the sad tidings to Rome, where pope Urban the Third died of terror and chagrin. Thence letters full of lamentation were sent to summon the princes of the West, to recover the holy sepulchre. Accordingly all the knights templars and hospitalers,* who were scattered through Europe, immediately embarked; the Italians assembled under the archbishops of Ravenna and Pisa; the flower of the Norman warriors took arms; fifty ships sailed from Denmark and Friesland and thirty-seven from Flanders; Richard, the lion-hearted king of England, Philip Augustus of France, and greater than all, Frederick Barbarossa, whom his age compared to Charlemain,† set out, accompanied by the princes of the German empire.

The emperor marched through Hungary, spread terror among the Greeks, defeated the army of the Seljukes, and arrived at the frontier of Syria. Not far from the place where Alexander the Great incurred the risk of death from a similar accident, the emperor perished, by bathing in the cold stream of the Saleph. A. D. 1190. His second son, of the same name, conducted the army to the Holy Land.

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* "Ingens motio per mare et terras."

† Post Carolum Magnum gestorum magnificentiâ vix habuit parem

The French, under the greatest monarch who had reigned over them for ages; the English, under the bravest knight of Europe, Henry count of Champagne; Thibaut of Blois, Stephen of Sancerre, Philip of Flanders, with many zealous prelates, and the flower of the European nobility, conducted their splendid armaments by sea. They sought in Calabria to confirm their hopes by the predictions of the soothsaying abbot Joachim: but he testified to them that the hour of deliverance was not yet come. The king of England conquered the isle of Cyprus; which Isaac, of the house of the Comneni, had held under his usurped and tyrannical government. This island was sold to Guy, the exiled king of Jerusalem; and the house of Lusignan, and their heirs of Poictiers, reigned there three hundred years. In the Holy Land, Acre, or Ptolemais, was taken after a difficult and memorable siege; but all further progress was prevented by divisions among the chiefs. The king of France hastened home, and fell upon Richard's possessions in Normandy; and the latter on his return was taken prisoner, and confined at Erdberg, near Vienna, by the duke of Austria.

From this third crusade is derived the order of Teutonic knights. Merchants of Lubeck and Bremen had founded a German house for sick pilgrims at Jerusalem: the institution was brought into celebrity by knights and ecclesiastics; (A. D. 1191.) and when Frederick, the son of the emperor, lay before Acre, he obtained from his brother, Henry the Sixth, that the pope Cœlestinus the Third should be induced to grant to this fraternity the care of hospitals, as it had been given to the order of St. John, and the honor of knighthood, which the templars had obtained. Henry Walpode, of a distinguished family, in the neighborhood of Mentz, was, accordingly, named the first grand master.

A. D. 1193. The great sultan Saladin, the terror of his foes, but to all other men, and even to his enemies when they were subdued, kind and open-hearted, beneficent, modest, and dignified, died in the 57th year of his age, in the citadel of Damascus. His sons, his kinsmen, and his brother, shared his domains among them.

SECTION VIII.

NAPLES AND SICILY.

The emperor Henry the Sixth became more powerful in Italy than any of his predecessors. The acquisitions of the Normans, founded on the valor of the Hautevilles, and the wisdom of king Roger, and more recently confirmed by the prudent administration of William the Good, devolved on the imperial house. A. D. 1166. When, on the death of William, an illegitimate prince, Tancred, and after him his infant son, William the Third (A. D. 1189.), had been placed on the throne by the nobles, who feared the power and the character of Henry, the emperor passed into Sicily (A. D. 1194.), and, aided by the skilful tactics of marshal Markward, of Anwyler, defeated all his enemies, and led the young king prisoner with his family into Germany. Another Tancred being opposed to him, he caused the latter, with all his accomplices, to lose their eyes. A. D. 1195. He ordered some to be seated on stools of red hot iron, and crowns of the same material to be placed upon their heads. By these severities he infused such a terror into his enemies, that they yielded obsequiously not only to his own government, but after his death to that of his newly-born son. A. D. 1197.

The emperor Henry founded his power on arms: his armies were supported by money; and in order to fill his treasury he spared no means. He obliged the duke of Austria to deliver king Richard into his hands, and would not release that prince until after he had purchased his ransom with seventy thousand marks of silver. He laid claim to the mines of Saxony, which were now becoming celebrated, as belonging to the crown, and forced the possessors to give up at least one third part of the revenue. The Cyprian king of the house of Lusignan, and Leo, king of the neighboring Armenia, or properly Cilicia, acknowledged his power, which was greater than any other prince in Christendom possessed. He had persuaded a great proportion

of the princes of the empire to assent that the throne of Germany should be declared hereditary; but was prevented from carrying this important plan into execution, by death, when he had only attained his 32d year.

A. D. 1198. The princes now made choice not of his son Frederick, who was but three years old, but of his brother Philip, to whom others, from disaffection or apprehensions for their liberties, opposed Otho the Fourth, the son of Henry the Lion.

SECTION IX.

INNOCENT THE THIRD.

While these rivals threw the empire into disorder, Naples and Sicily acknowledged the young Frederick, who was not yet baptized. He was supported by Innocent the Third, of the house of the counts of Segni, who in the 37th of his age had obtained the papacy with general approbation (A. D. 1198.): a person of great attainments in practical knowledge, eloquent in the Latin and Italian tongues, kind and engaging in his manners, of great constancy, simple and frugal in his own person, and generous even to profusion in acts of beneficence. He discharged his office of protector to Frederick with the ability of a great prince, and with the honor of a knight; and he decided the dispute between the rival claimants of the German and imperial crown. He had the good fortune to be acknowledged, even at Constantinople, as supreme head of the Christian church; and it was under his command that the important council of St. John di Lateran was held. In his time, and under his patronage, Francis of Assisi, and Dominick of Osma, founders of the orders of Franciscans and Dominicans, renovated the decaying piety of Christendom, by their voluntary poverty and popular preachings; and the same Dominick laid the foundation of the Catholic inquisition. Innocent lived to place the imperial crown on the head of his pupil Frederick, and died in the nineteenth year of a glorious pontificate.

SECTION X.

CONSTANTINOPLE TAKEN BY THE CRUSADERS.

After the Comneni had reigned at Constantinople more than a hundred years, with greater glory than any preceding dynasty, they gave occasion for their own ruin, and the subversion of the state. Andronicus, sprung from a branch nearly allied to the imperial stem, a prince of great talents, but turbulent, and impelled alternately by lust and ambition to the most criminal pursuits, put to death the young Alexius (A. D. 1183.), son of the emperor Manuel, and enjoyed a reign of two years, which was productive of the wisest arrangements and the basest deeds, and was as inconsistent with itself as the whole character of this prince. After he had become the object of general fear, he was dethroned by Isaac Angelus, who consigned him to a most cruel death. A. D. 1185.

Isaac, a prince, who in other particulars showed gentle dispositions and effeminate manners, was deprived of his empire, and of his eyes, by his own brother, Alexius the Third. A. D. 1194. His son Alexius fled to Venice, and sought for aid (A. D. 1203.): the West was at that time preparing a crusade, and Venice had undertaken to convey the armies into Asia.

Arrigo Dandolo, an old man, upwards of ninety years of age, who had almost entirely lost his sight, but whose mental eyes penetrated the more deeply into political intrigues, was doge of Venice, and the soul of the enterprise. He persuaded the crusaders to conquer Zara, a Dalmatian city, for the Venetians. The events which followed at Constantinople, appear from the following narrative, which was transmitted to the pope:

"As we could not but apprehend that we should by our great multitude be burdensome to the Holy Land, and as we learnt that the citizens of Constantinople wished to return under the dominion of their lawful emperor, we thought it expedient to settle the disquiets that existed there, in order

to secure for ourselves the necessary supplies and assistance for our future proceedings. We found the city of Constantinople uncommonly strong, the citizens in arms, 60,000 cavalry, and all the implements necessary for defence. The unlawful emperor had told the people that we designed to subdue them, and reduce their church in obedience to your holiness. Being only stocked with provisions for fourteen days, we were obliged to repeat our attacks without intermission. On the eighth day we broke into the city. The emperor flying with a few of his people, we seated Alexius the Fourth on the throne of his father, after setting free the latter from his dungeon. The new emperor promised us 200,000 marks of silver, provisions for a year, and his assistance in recovering the holy sepulchre. He only desired us, on account of the Greeks, to remain in our camp without the city. Soon after this he suffered himself to be persuaded by his father to fall upon us by surprise, and set fire to our fleet. The project was discovered: the people, afraid of our vengeance, cried out for a sovereign. The emperor, in order to appease us and them, sent to the discontented his kinsman Murtzulph (Alexius the Fifth). A. D. 1204. The latter betrayed and murdered the emperor and his father, and closed the gates of the city against us. There is, holy father, in the whole West, no city like Constantinople; the walls are lofty and wide, consisting of squared stones: at every interval of five hundred paces is a stone tower, supporting another of wood, six stories high; between the towers are bridges, full of arms and bowmen: double and very wide fosses allowed no play to our machines. Often during the night they sent fire-ships out against us. Our land forces alarmed Murtzulph, but he preferred to die rather than surrender. He had killed the young emperor with a club, and he gave out that Alexius had died from other causes. He obtained advantages over us, but at length the ships Paradin and Pilgrim, under the command of the bishops of Troyes and Soissons, effected a landing. When the Greeks saw that the whole forces of the Franks were pressing into the haven, and into the streets, their courage forsook them. Not far from us the emperor took flight, with all the nobles, and sought refuge in the palace. We put the people to the sword in the streets, until night came on. At length our

foot-soldiers, without orders, rushed with irresistible force to storm the imperial residence, and made themselves masters of it; whereupon all Constantinople submitted. Most holy father, the quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and other costly things which we have found, far exceeds all that could be collected in the city of Rome, and in all our Christendom. Six Venetian noblemen, with the bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halberstadt, and Ptolemais, assembled with the legates of your holiness; and, after celebrating high mass and public prayers, with the counsel and assistance of the high and mighty lord, Henry Dandolo, doge of Venice, elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, to be emperor of Constantinople. The fourth part of the empire was left to him; the remainder we divided among ourselves. We will endeavor to maintain possession of this fine land, full of corn, wine, oil, wood, and pasturage, and share it out in fiefs to the noble knights, who will join their arms to ours. As we have read in histories, and understood from learned men, that in old times the predecessors of your holiness came even to Constantinople, we entreat your holiness to do the same, and here to hold a council."

Pope Innocent knew too well what became his character not to publish the bann against crusaders, who, instead of conquering the infidels, deposed Christian emperors from their thrones: yet, on considering the circumstances, as he said, he again absolved them. For the rest, he knew them too well to predict any long duration of their power, and he declined visiting Constantinople.

Venice took possession of the islands of the Grecian sea; French noblemen divided ancient Greece among them; Ville-hardouin, the historian of these events, became lord of Achaia; and Otho de la Roche, a Burgundian, duke of Athens.

Three principalities were founded by the Greeks; one by Theodorus Lascaris, son-in-law of the emperor Alexius the Third, a man of enterprising genius, at Nicæa, in Bithynia: this sovereignty governed Asia Minor under the imperial name. Two other states were founded by princes of the Comnene house; one of them was Lacia, on the eastern shore of the Black sea, where politeness and barbarism were in a wonderful manner combined, in a short space; Trapezus,

or Trebisond, was the capital of this state, and its princes subsequently assumed the title of emperors: the second dominion was founded by a prince of the house of Angelo, in Acarnania and Œtolia, which extended over the Chimæra and Albania, as far as Prilap. The latter was termed the Despotate.

A. D. 1205. Baldwin, of Flanders, became, in the first year of his reign, a sacrifice to the greatness he had acquired: he was insidiously slain by Johannicius, king of the Bulgarians, who, about twenty years before, had recovered their lost freedom. Baldwin appears to have suffered a cruel death; whereupon the kingdom devolved on his able and hitherto successful brother Henry; from the latter to his brother-in-law, Peter of Courtenay, grandson of Lewis the Sixth, from whom it descended to his sons. It was ever on the decrease. The customs of the Latins were not in harmony with the manners of the native people, and their power obtained no internal consolidation.

SECTION XI.

THE EMPEROR FREDERICK THE SECOND.

Philip was scarcely acknowledged sovereign of the Western empire when he fell by the hand of an assassin: and his successor, Otho the Fourth, immediately after his election, rushed precipitately into the same measures which had involved his predecessors in so many conflicts with the Roman see. Innocent was enraged, and the princes of the empire abandoned him for Frederick, son of Henry the Sixth. A. D. 1212.

Frederick was animated by an heroic spirit; he was equal to the bravest of the ancient Cæsars, and in intelligence superior to most of them. He conceived the same partiality for the poetry of the Provençals, which his father and his son Conrad, with many other princes and lords of those times, had entertained for that of the Germans: tenderness, animation, and euphony pervade the works of this prince and his noble relatives. Love and virtue were not their

only themes; the corruptions of the age were reprehended in their verses, and the exploits of Richard and Saladin celebrated: their muse often took a lofty flight, and availed itself of all the resources of language; the lyre resounded with the praises of God, the beauties of the firmament and of all nature, and with the imaginary scenes of romance. The emperor excelled all his competitors in that powerful glance with which he surveyed the follies of his age, and penetrated the most important truths. With all his sublimity he was full of grace and gentleness; in his exterior he was engaging, because in every individual, of whatever rank, nation, or faith he might be, the emperor only saw human nature in different garbs: the love of pleasure contributed to render him popular. He possessed immovable firmness, and a greatness of individual character, the impression of which long survived his death.

The popes, in order to keep Frederick employed in distant countries, compelled him to enter into a vow to deliver the holy sepulchre: in vain he endeavored to defer the enterprise, which often seemed to be merely a pretext for raising tributes. When he could not longer delay, he marched to Syria, and concluded a treaty with Malek-el-Kamel, or Meledin, sultan of Egypt (A. D. 1229.), according to which the latter gave up to him the sovereignty of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other holy places, without resorting to arms.

His enemies excited disorders in Italy, but he returned and defeated them. Gregory the Ninth had ascended the papal chair in the 85th year of his age, and held it fourteen years, in perpetual contention with the emperor. He and his successor Innocent the Fourth, of the house of the Genoese Fieschi, counts of Lavagna, frustrated all the projects which Frederick was anxious to complete, and embittered his reign. Innocent, in order to lessen the impression which the introduction of the Roman law produced in favor of the imperial power, opposed to it the decretals, a compilation of papal ordinances, which Raymond of Pennaforte, a Dominican friar, had prepared at his command: a worthy counterpart of the old compilations, which was falsely ascribed to bishop Isidore, of Seville, and in

the beginning of the ninth century was promulgated among the Germans, by Richulf, archbishop of Mentz. Gratian's system of decrees was from that time in the highest authority, and the pope ordered students, and their instructers, to abide by the new compilation.

In the employment of spiritual arms the use of other weapons was not lost sight of, but the former were now wielded with more than usual energy by both parties. The emperor himself fought with arguments, and availed himself of his talent of ridicule in opposition to the solemn gravity of the priests; and he spared no resource that might tend to bring contempt upon his enemies. But the hour for effecting a revolution was not yet come. He paid so little respect to immunities, that he suffered priests to be castrated, hanged, and burnt, and employed the church plate for common kitchen furniture. He built a city for the Moslem and dwelt among them. Ezzelino di Romano, his administrator in Lombardy, sought to subdue the spirit of opposition which displayed itself in the cities of that province, by severities which affright the imagination. The emperor took possession of all the territories which belonged to the papacy, and had a strong party even in Rome.

A. D. 1244. Innocent the Fourth retired to France, and summoned a council of the church at Lyons, which was attended by deputies from France, Spain, England and many German princes, counts, and other noblemen. The emperor was accused of a design to extirpate the Christian religion, of the most flagitious vices, and of many horrible crimes. Accordingly, after adducing former precedents, the pope, at the head of the council, published the bann against him, and declared him to have forfeited his crown.

Germany remained faithful to Frederick, until Henry, his eldest son, deserted him. Although this unfortunate youth fell a sacrifice to his levity, the allegiance of the emperor's subjects from that time declined. In consequence of the sentence of the council, the landgrave of Thuringia, and, after his speedy death, William count of Holland, a noble and enterprising youth, were opposed to the con-

demned Frederick with the imperial title. A. D. 1247. The latter resisted with unshaken fortitude, until fortune was unfaithful to him in every region of his empire. The public opinion, under the guidance of his bitterest enemies, was the occasion of his ruin, and he died a prey to chagrin and disappointment. A. D. 1252.

SECTION XII.

THE INTERREGNUM.

A. D. 1254. Neither Conrad, the son of Frederick, who fell in the defence of his hereditary possessions; nor William, who perished prematurely by a different fate (A. D. 1256.); nor the duke of Cornwall, brother of the English king, who was elected by some of the princes (A. D. 1257.), and only knew how to sell privileges in order to reimburse himself for the sums they had cost him; nor Alphonso of Castile, to whom others confided the crown; nor any other prince in Christendom, found himself in a situation, or possessed of the power requisite for restoring the royal authority in Germany, and the imperial dignity in Europe, to that degree of eminence which they had maintained during the three preceding centuries. The supreme magistracy of the European commonwealth fell into such a state of impotency, that the three-and-twenty years which followed the death of Frederick are termed by many an interregnum, or a period of vacation of the throne; and we may so consider them without doing injustice to the character of this age.

A. D. 1255. At this time Walpode, a chief citizen of Mentz, united the cities of Upper Germany and the Rhine, from the feet of the Alps to the efflux of the Maine, in a league for the common defence of their manufactures and commerce against usury, unlawful imposts, and robbery by land and water.

A. D. 1241. Shortly before this combination, the example of Hamburg and Lubeck had occasioned the confederation of all the lower German and northern commercial towns in the great Hanseatic league.

The combinations of the towns, by which burgesses and traders rendered themselves of political importance, displeased the great. Factious disputes between Guelphs and Ghibellines, nobles and citizens, prevailed in every community: trading corporations were formed, and gradually assumed the chief direction of affairs. A. D. 1234. Vienna, Turin, Rome, and Paris, were dangerous places of residence.

A. D. 1246. We saw the downfall of the house of Babenberg, in Austria, which happened shortly before the death of Frederick. Vienna had often contended for her liberty against the last duke, who fell at length in battle against the Hungarians. The occasion of his death remained in uncertainty. As the emperor had now less leisure than ever to provide for the protection of this boundary, and the succession to the dukedom was disputed between Herrmann, margrave of Baden, husband of the niece of duke Frederick, and his two sisters Constantia and Margaretha, the provincial states resolved, on the death of Herrmann, to confide the government of their country to the margrave Henry of Meissen, husband of Constantia. A. D. 1250. This resolution was prevented from taking effect by the fair promises and weighty arguments which Wenceslaf, king of Bohemia, addressed to the deputies of the states.

SECTION XIII.

BOHEMIA.

The kingdom of Bohemia is a fertile valley, enclosed between Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Bavaria, Austria, Moravia, and Silesia, and surrounded by chains of mountains, which have in some parts a great elevation. The surface is computed at 900 square miles.* There are passes between the hills, which the nature of their situation renders very important. We shall not stay to detail from Dalemil and Cosmus what those authors relate concerning

* Equal to 18,000 English square miles.

prince Tchech, the enchantress Libassa, the wars of damsels at Dewin, and the dukes and duchesses whom the evil spirit has carried away or the earth swallowed up. The Tchechi, for such is the national appellation, taking possession of Bohemia, or the *home of the Boii*, after the latter people had abandoned it, were governed by Tchechish princes, in the series of whom Przemysl was the founder of a dynasty which long held the sovereign power. The Tchechi suffered many evils inflicted upon them by the German kings, and were often obliged to pay them tribute. It was also prejudicial to their independence that they attained the knowledge of Christianity by the preaching of Greek and Roman missionaries, the latter of whom brought them under the influence of the pope; and that many Germans, either of their own accord, or invited by the Bohemian princes, sought settlements in their country. To the latter the Tchechi were indebted for the blessings of civilization, which would scarcely have displayed itself, or have attained perfection in a Slavonian horde, without the aid of foreign influence. The states hoped to preclude all the evil effects that were to be apprehended from these circumstances, by the ordinances which they established under Sobieslaf, after the death of the emperor Henry the Fifth. It was enacted that no stranger should govern in Bohemia, or hold any office in the administration; that on the death of a duke the burgomasters of Prague should assemble the country deputies, in the space of three days, to elect a successor, with the counsel and assistance of the magistracy of that town; that the latter should immediately bind himself by oath to observe the liberties of his people, for the maintenance of which the nobles were directed continually to watch. Yet Bohemia continued to be dependent on the Swabian emperors, until duke Przemysl Ottocar, during the divisions which arose after the reign of Henry the Sixth (A. D. 1200.), had the good fortune to secure the royal dignity, not only for himself, but for all his successors. This king Przemysl was father of that Wenceslaf who detained the deputies of the Austrians.

He held under his sway not only Bohemia, but Moravia also. This ancient seat of the Marcomanni, had become in

later times the centre of an extensive sovereignty, which terminated on the conquest of Pannonia by the Madjars, or Hungarians. For after the death of king Swadbog, or Swatopulk, there was no chief capable of holding under his sway the tribes, who were for the most part barbarous, or of maintaining the sceptre of Moravia; and from that time forwards the Moravian people adhered sometimes to the Polish, but more often to the Bohemian dukes, who at length obtained a permanent sway over their country.

Wenceslaf persuaded the Austrian deputies to recommend his son Przemysl Ottocar, a warlike and enterprising youth, to the Austrians as their duke, and to Margaret, sister of Constantia, as her husband. The barons of Kuenring, a house which had formerly migrated from the Rhine to Austria, supported his pretensions the more willingly, as they hoped to derive advantages from the favor of the prince who was enamored of their sister. Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Stiria, and Carniola, the acquisition of the last duke, now became united. A. D. 1253. We have mentioned above that the new prince added also Carinthia to his possessions.

The wise margrave of Meissen, content with the acquisition of Thuringia, laid aside his further pretensions; and Frederick, the prince of Baden, son of Herrmann, was as yet a minor.

SECTION XIV.

EXTINCTION OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS.

The last mentioned prince allied himself closely to Conrad, called Conradin on account of his tender years, duke of Swabia, grandson of the emperor Frederick by his son Conrad the Fourth. These princes were of the same age, and experienced similar fortunes. Conradin was at length invited by the Italians to take possession of his hereditary dominions, the Norman kingdom. A. D. 1268. Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, king of France, had made himself master of this territory by the aid of the pope; but his administration was unpopular. When Conradin, ac-

companied by Frederick, the friend of his youth, arrived in Italy, he was welcomed by the allies of his house, and by many who pitied his unworthy fate. At Rome he was met by the senator prince Henry of Castile, brother of king Alfonso, and by many of the nobles. Sicily declared for him, and many Neapolitan barons reinforced his army. A battle was fought near Tagliacozzo, which was for some time doubtful, until Fortune declared herself inimical to the young princes, who were both taken prisoners. Charles of Anjou, in his whole conduct brutal and unjust, hesitated not to order Conradin of Hohenstaufen, the descendant of three illustrious emperors, who had come to take possession of his paternal inheritance, to be publicly beheaded in the city of Naples with his friend Frederick; and the pope justified the act. It seemed as if the shades of the Norman barons, whom his ancestor Henry the Sixth had cruelly put to death, demanded retribution in the innocent blood of his descendant.

His calamity secured the dominion of Przemysl Ottocar, which in a contrary turn of affairs might have been disturbed by Frederick. These events seem to have prepared the way for the vigorous defence by which this boundary of the empire was maintained against the disturbances that had arisen shortly before in Hungary, and seemed likely to be renewed.

SECTION XV.

OF THE HUNGARIANS.

After the Hungarians had possessed themselves of their country under a prince of the house of Arpad, and had continued for a century to be the terror of western Europe, they began under Geysa to acquire a taste for agriculture and civilized life. The power of the German kings, the hereditary margraviate in Austria, and the warlike spirit of other adjoining nations, had forced them to desist from their predatory enterprises. Stephen, the son of Geysa, introduced, at the same time, Christianity and the royal dignity. A. D. 1000.

Although the former was secured by the establishment of a hierarchy, and the latter by a constitution, yet the popular preference for heathenish manners, and the circumstance that Stephen left no successor, occasioned great disturbances after his death. A. D. 1037. The variety of nations who had settled in Hungary together with, and before the Madjares, and who were for the most part barbarous in their habits, rendered a common legislation, and the encouragement of uniform manners, a very difficult undertaking. Hence ensued a period of weakness in the government, of which the emperor Henry the Third and other German monarchs availed themselves in order to deprive Hungary of her independence. The greater the decline which now presented itself in the circumstances of the nation, when compared with the glory of former ages, the more odious the recently adopted habits became to the people, who now lived in slavery, and remembered with regret those ancient times when they were not bound to the labors of agriculture, or to the irksome service of their oppressors. To these impediments the wisest of their kings opposed, with various degrees of success, the influence of social ordinances and the powers of religion; but they could not maintain civilization among the Hungarians until almost all the neighboring nations had already attained it, and it became absolutely necessary. A. D. 1196. Bela the Third possessed himself of Halicz and Vladimir, cities which sometimes had belonged to the Poles, at others to the Russians, and extended his sway over Dalmatia. This prince allied himself by marriage to the Comneni, and gave the Hungarians a code of laws (A. D. 1236.); and his son Andrew settled more completely the constitution. Thus the king of Hungary established his power over a people whose predilection was for arms, but who began to accommodate themselves to civil order; while Croatia, Slavonia, and from the time of Vladislaf the First, who married the sister of Saromir, Dalmatia also, were in consequence of internal disquiets and the influence of the Krals, or petty kings of Servia, alternately in the possession of the Greek emperor and the Venetians: but more frequently subject to the former, to which Erdeel or Transylvania was more closely connected.

SECTION XVI.

OF THE TARTARS OR MONGOLES.

In the thirteenth century revolutions occurred in the ancient country of the Hiongnu, which unexpectedly and fearfully disturbed the order of affairs in this and other kingdoms of the West and North.

A great chan, who ruled over thirty thousand families on the banks of the Selinga, died before his son Temudsin had attained to man's estate. The horde was consequently divided under different heads, and only thirteen families persevered in their allegiance, while many who had beheld with invidious eyes the splendor and opulence of the father, now attempted to seize upon the possessions of the son. The latter, as soon as he grew up, displayed a penetrating and aspiring genius. He defeated his enemies, and acquired renown. He divided the booty among his comrades, whose attachment he valued more than riches. He treated them with fraternal kindness, and filled the whole country with the love and veneration of his name.

The nation held a convention on the banks of the Selinga. A khodsha or sage, revered for his age and virtues, rose up in the assembly, and said, "Brethren, I have seen a vision. The great God of heaven, on his flaming throne, surrounded by the spirits on high, sat in judgment on the nations of the earth: sentence was pronounced, and he gave the dominion of the world to our chief Temudsin, whom he appointed Ginghis Khan or Universal Sovereign." The Mongoles then held up their hands and swore to follow Temudsin, the Ginghis Khan, in all his enterprises. A. D. 1206.

The latter, resolved to traverse the whole earth, and only to give peace to the conquered, broke forth from the cold and savage wilderness, invaded China, overcame the dynasty of Sum, conquered the capital Yen-king, over-ran the peninsula of Corea, marched westward through the mountains, subdued Tibet, proceeded to Cashmire, and appeared on the confines of the mighty sultan of Chowaresmia, who had

overcome the dynasty of Ghaur, and ruled over a great part of Hindustan and nearly the whole of Persia. With four hundred thousand warriors, Ala-ed-din Mohammed, the son of Takas, marched against Ginghis Khan: he was defeated and his kingdom conquered. His heroic son, Gelaleddin Mankbarn, in a long and adventurous course, was driven from India to the Tigris, and terminated (it is uncertain when) his unmerited sufferings in a violent death. The banks of the Caspian were as soon subdued as discovered by the conqueror. The czar of the neighboring Russia set out on the Kalca with great forces; he fought, and was forced to seek a hasty flight. Ginghis Khan died in the sixty-fourth year of his age (A. D. 1227.), after he had filled Asia with his renown and the terror of his name, and had given laws and military ordinances to the Mongoles.

Oktay, Dushi, Tuli, and Jagatay, his sons, and Guyuch, Batu, Hulaku, and Koblay, his grandsons, continued his enterprises. In vain the Sum attempted to resist; in vain the Russian grand-prince, Alexander Newski, the conqueror of Livonia, tried the chance of war; and in vain the commander of the Faithful Moslem. A. D. 1241. From the eastern ocean, which washes the coasts of China and Japan, to the Silesian Oder, the world was in commotion, in anxious expectation of the Mongolian arms.

The successor of the czar Alexander Newski fled through the forests of Lithuania to the king of Poland. The throne of Rurik, which, more than three hundred and eighty years, had been the greatest in these northern regions, fell into such a state of dependence on the Mongoles, that the khan of the golden horde received tribute from the czar during two hundred and twenty years, and was arbiter of his honor, life, and fortune.

Batu, son of Dushi, having completed this conquest, marched at the head of a countless multitude to the confines of western Christendom, at the time when the emperor Frederick the Second was involved in his most vehement quarrels with the pope. In France, Lewis the Ninth sat on a neglected throne; the papal chair was vacant; in the north, Erich king of Denmark governed a state which was weakened by the misfortunes of his father; Erich of Sweden

ruled a nation which was consuming its powers by internal strife; and in Poland, Poleslaf could scarcely maintain his kingdom against his uncle, the duke of Masovia. Batu accordingly burnt Cracow without resistance; Bela the Fourth, king of Hungary, son of Andrew, a wise and courageous prince, impeded in his useful pursuits by the seditions of his country, had received the Komanians from the neighborhood of the Moldau, to people the scarcely inhabited plains on the river Theiss. This prince was defeated in a decisive battle against the invading Mongoles, who in Europe were termed Tartars; after which he fled to the islands of Liburnia, and the enemy laid waste his country with fire and sword. Their hordes marched out of Poland, burnt Breslau, and were expected at Berlin and Meissen.

On this sudden emergency, the emperor and the cardinals entreated the nations to lend their aid to the Silesian princes. Many barons and knights, with their vassals, came to the assistance of duke Henry, who, descended from Polish Piasts, was governor of Lower Silesia. A battle was fought near Wollstadt, not far from Ligness (A. D. 1242.), which was one of the most destructive that was ever lost in the contests with eastern barbarians. The people of all the neighboring countries sought refuge in their mountains.

The enemy made no farther progress: he was unskilled in besieging towns, and he found no treasures in the West which repaid him for his hard contests with many valiant princes. Koblai, son of Tuli, the Mogul, found the conquest of China an easier enterprise, and Japan was only protected by the sea.

SECTION XVII.

FALL OF THE CHALIFAT OF BAGDAD.

At this era Mostasem, son of Mostauser, sat on the venerable throne of the commanders of the Faithful of the house of Abbas: he was destitute of those qualities which excite the reverence of the people: the power of Bagdad was lost, but its splendor was great; for this city was still

the point of union among all the Moslem of the Sunite sect. The science of the Arabs also maintained its celebrity, and boasted of the astronomer and geographer Nasir-Eddin, who afterwards became president of the academies under the Moguls. He lived at Maraga in the land of Aderbeijau, observed the stars, and wrote on the duties of men. Self-denial was not in his system the first of virtues. This man dedicated a book to the ignorant Mostasem. The chalif, prejudiced against the author because he was a native of Chorasan, treated with contempt the learned labor of the philosopher; and from that time Nasir-Eddin sought an opportunity of effecting his ruin. He prevailed upon Ibn Ab Alkami, the confidential minister of the chalif, to weaken the state by internal factions; and, in the mean time, persuaded Hulaku, grandson of Ginghis Khan, that the destruction of the chalifat would be an enterprise worthy of his arms, and would repay the toil of his barbarians.

Hulaku accordingly sought a quarrel with the chalif, and since a pretext is never difficult to find for the powerful, he soon besieged and conquered Bagdad. In the 656th year of the Mohammedan hegira, the fifty-sixth successor of the great prophet was trodden to pieces by horses, amid the tumult of the sacking of his capital. Forty days the Moguls plundered the ancient seat of Arabian splendor; and their swords deprived two hundred thousand of its inhabitants of their lives.

The Moguls then proceeded with increased forces to the Mediterranean sea, and the Italian cities apprehended the destruction of their commerce on the Arabian gulf. Haleb quickly fell before their arms: they took Damascus, and entered the Holy Land. But Malek-el-Modaffar Seif-eddin Kothuz, sultan of the Mamlukes in Egypt, defeated their troops near the well of Goliah (A. D. 1260.): and his successor, Malek-ed-Daher Abulfath Bibars Bondoktari, deprived them of their Syrian conquests.

To this prince Hakem Beamrillah Achmed Mostaser, of the house of the chalifs, fled in the garb of mourning. A. D. 1262. The sultan reverently granted him an asylum at Kahira, and a competent income; and the refugee gave him in return the sanction of the prophet's name. During

two centuries and a half, the titular emperors of the world continued to live on the charity of the Mamlukes.

SECTION XVIII.

THE MAMLUKES.

Saladin the Great had divided his empire among his sons, and had given a sultan to each of the capital cities, Haleb, Hamath, Damascus, Bassora, and Kahira. His successors were weakened by mutual jealousies. In seven years, two sons and a grandson of Saladin had reigned in Egypt: his brother, Malek-el-Adel Seif-ed-din Abu Bekr, with his posterity, reigned fifty years: the succession was settled by no certain law; it was acquired by genius and courage, and could only be maintained by severe vigilance.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, Lewis the Ninth, king of France, according to the genius of his age, undertook a crusade against the Mohammedans in Egypt, similar to that which his father had carried on, with still greater injustice, against the unfortunate Albigenses. The spirit of the times seduced him; even boys were so possessed by it, that in the beginning of this century, near ninety thousand youths, from different countries, left their parents and schoolmasters, in order to betake themselves to the Holy Land. A. D. 1210. They came in great troops to Marseilles and Brindisi, and fell a prey for the most part to cold, hunger, and distempers. The good king, perhaps well pleased to employ his turbulent nobles in a foreign enterprise, believed, with that simplicity of heart, which in his character was singularly connected with sound wisdom, that he was performing a work meritorious in the sight of God, and exemplary to the whole world.

A. D. 1219. He began, as Andrew king of Hungary, duke Leopold of Austria, and other prudent crusaders had done some years before, by conquering Damietta, which commanded the frontier of Egypt, in order to secure an adequate supply of provisions from the fruitful stores of that country, and to prevent the sending of succors to Jerusalem.

Damietta was also an important city for the commerce carried on with India. His brother Robert, count of Artois, misled by the templars, proceeded farther into the interior, and took the newly fortified city of Mansura. For the former of these conquests the crusaders were indebted to the absence, for the latter to the mortal sickness, of the sultan Malek-es-Saleh Eyub. Soon after, the French having given themselves up to plunder and debauchery, their enemy conducted the waters of the Nile into their camp, and cut off their retreat, at a time when they were already weakened by diseases. In this emergency, the king, fighting with heroic valor, was taken prisoner; his brother was never again found. Lewis was forced to give a prodigious sum for his ransom, and to restore to his enemy the conquered towns. A. D. 1249.

The capitulation which the sultan Malek-el-Moattam Turan-Sha granted to the French king, excited the rage of the Bahrite Mamlukes. This soldiery, levied in the Caucasus, and introduced into Egypt by Saleh, were so conscious of their preponderance over the effeminate Egyptians, that it seemed an insult to their commanders, to transact any important affair without consulting them. A. D. 1250. They slew the sultan, possessed themselves of the sovereignty under their courageous leader, Malek-el-Moezz Az-ed-din Ibek Gashnekir, and gave him the beautiful Shagr-ed-dorr, stepmother of the last sultan, for his consort.

The country whence the Mamlukes came, abounding in men of the greatest strength and beauty, renewed their number annually by new reinforcements. Under the modern empire of the Ottomans, this species of soldiery holds the chief power in Egypt. At that time, after having imposed upon the country a sufficient tribute to support them luxuriously at its expense, they arranged the government, and ordained that the sultan and his vizier should consult their captains in all affairs of importance; that a great cadi should administer justice; and that each of the four sects who differ in their interpretation of the Koran, should have their own cadi, but that all should be nominated by the sultan.

For more than two hundred and fifty years, the Mamlukes were governed through forty-eight revolutions by their sultans. The prince was seldom succeeded by his son, but commonly by a favorite slave or a valiant soldier. Their life was a military one; they were seldom involved in domestic relations: always renewed by reinforcements of vigorous youths from Caucasus, the Mamlukes maintained their strength without becoming enervated by the influence of a warm climate.

Lewis having purchased his liberty, betook himself to Ptolemais, or Acre, a fortified town in the Holy Land, which still belonged to the crusaders. He redeemed many captive Christians by his gold, and remained four years an inhabitant of Palestine.

SECTION XIX.

THE DRUSES.

In these times, the power and the faith of the Druses, who still dwell under their emirs in mount Lebanon, were extended beyond their former limits. A Persian, named Mohammed Ebn Ismael, who had lived more than two centuries before the age we are now surveying, was the founder of this sect, whose religious doctrine affirmed "that God had revealed himself to mankind four times in all ages; once in the time of Jesus, once in that of Mohammed, and lastly through Hakem, a Fatimide prince, who had been sultan of Egypt; that Hakem was the most faithful interpreter of his will; for Jesus had been abandoned by God, and given up to an ignominious death, Mohammed had been possessed by an evil spirit, but Hakem was God himself; that the Druses should ever serve him, always in secret places, but that it was permitted to them to frequent alternately mosques and churches." For the rest, they kept themselves free from all rules which limit the enjoyment of pleasure. Every Friday they read their religious books, and ate some bread with dried raisins, and they are said to worship an

idol made of iron. They recognize each other by a single question; and they keep their secret so securely, that it is only two years since we first began to have some probable ground for conjecture on this subject.

SECTION XX.

THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

After an abode of six years in the east, Lewis the Ninth returned to his kingdom, and re-established there the authority of the laws.

His grandfather, Philip Augustus, had greatly augmented the power of the crown. We have seen that the dukes of Normandy, both before and since they acquired possession of the English throne, maintained, by their power and talents, an equal weight with the kings in the affairs of France. Philip availed himself of the wild adventures of king Richard, in order to shake the preponderance of these formidable vassals, and he carried on his attempt with unexpected success in the reign of John, the weak and unfortunate successor of that prince. A. D. 1203. The latter having murdered his own nephew, Arthur, Philip declared the fief of Normandy, for the possession of which they had disputed, to be forfeited, and soon after made himself master of it. A. D. 1204. The fruit of three centuries of war and political intrigue was lost to the house of Normandy. John was too base and too contemptible to obtain aid: the English rejoiced in his humiliation, which afforded them facilities for restoring their freedom; and Philip was too wise to excite envy by an ostentatious display of his power. From that time forward, the power of the monarchy increased in France, and in England the freedom of the people.

As Philip extended his dominions in the north-west, Lewis the Ninth was equally fortunate in the south, in uniting to the crown the territory of the counts of Toulouse, which Philip and Lewis the Eighth had in vain attempted to effect. He gave indeed the government of the province, together with the heiress, to his brother Alfonso; but the

latter dying without issue, it devolved upon the crown. A. D. 1271. The kings had already acquired possession, by purchase, of the domains which Simon of Montfort had acquired in the mountains of Languedoc, in the course of his crusade against the Albigenses, and which Montfort l'Amaury found himself unable to maintain.

A. D. 1238. Lewis the Ninth obtained by purchase the important county of Macon. While this king was yet a minor, his prudent mother had given assistance to the count of Champagne against his powerful enemies (A. D. 1226.), on the condition that he should surrender to the crown the counties of Blois and Chartres. Thus the domains of the French king became every where extended in the vicinity of the most powerful vassals, so that it was henceforward as difficult for them to make any effort against him individually, as to unite their forces in any common attempt to resist the royal authority.

In order to confirm this authority still further, he endeavored to render it respectable by a strict administration of justice. The royal protection was not only the most desirable to the subject, because it was the most powerful, and the king did not so often stand in need of oppressive exactions as the inferior lords, but it was also connected with a better regulated judicial system. Four great bailiffs, as early as the reign of Philip Augustus, in Vermandois, at Sens, Macon, and St. Pierre le Moustier, received the appeals from the courts of the nobles. The desire of a judicature accessible to the people, and of regular laws, was too general, for the nobles to venture upon any opposition to it. The king was the acknowledged protector of public justice; and every man, who was refused his right, was sure to obtain it from the royal bailiff. As supreme feudal lord, he took cognizance of all complaints which might have any relation to feudal services; and the obscure, corrupted, and indefinite expression of the feudal grants, was found to favor the interpretation of the most powerful party. When the Roman jurisprudence came into vogue, the inferior judges were bewildered in the multitude and contradictions of so many laws: the appeals were multiplied, and the judges were only acquainted with established usages.

Thus the authority of these courts was on the wane from the time of Philip.

Lewis the Ninth endeared himself to his subjects by the simplicity of his manners. After a fair held upon the sod, he seated himself under an oak, in the forest of Vincennes, and gave hearing and redress to every Frenchman. This monarch, so much revered for the sanctity of his life, to whose upright judgment foreign princes confided, without suspicion, the arbitration of their disputes, who, in his council, uttered maxims of wisdom, who appeared as a father and a shepherd among his people, established laws,* the violation of which seemed to be an act of impiety. The cases presented for the royal decision† were multiplied; for what Frenchman would not gladly receive judgment from St. Lewis? Formerly the monarchy was founded on the force of arms, but now the royal authority was established on the virtues of the sovereign.

SECTION XXI.

TUNIS AND MAROCO.

Sixteen years after his return from Palestine, Lewis undertook a second crusade against the Abuhafidæ at Tunis.

Fifty years had not elapsed since the death of Abdelmumen, the chief of the Mowaheddin, who conquered the Morabeths, when the coast of Africa submitted to new sovereigns. Before the supreme power had fallen in this country into the hands of a soldiery who continually renewed their own numbers, the maintenance of authority depended always on the warlike and energetic talents of the founder of each dynasty, whose posterity soon slept in luxurious repose on their insecure throne. At Tunis, the house of Abuhaf Omar held now a short-lived sway; the Merinides ruled at Maroco, descendants of Abu Bekr, son of Abdul Hakk, son of Mahbu, son of Hamama. The former molested the navigators of the Mediterranean sea.

* Etablissemens. † Cas Royaux.

Lewis defeated them, and laid siege to their capital, but his army was weakened by diseases, which brought the monarch himself to his grave. As it seemed neither an easy matter to conquer Tunis, nor probable that the possession of it could be maintained, the French commanders were contented with a treaty, by which it was agreed that the expenses of the war should be paid, some monasteries erected, and a tribute secured to Charles, the king of Sicily, brother of St. Lewis.

The Abuhafidæ and Merinides received no further molestation from the Europeans. Literature was honored in their country: annually, at the birth-day of the great prophet, poets contended at Fez for the prize of the sublimest song; a fleet horse, a beautiful slave, an embroidered robe, and the precedence before all the bards of the same year. The land was populous, well cultivated, and gayly ornamented with cities and magnificent palaces.

Never had the Jews in the time of their dispersion boasted of so splendid a period of literature: here Averroës developed the genius of the most intelligent of their teachers, Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, who has illustrated their law with such luminous conception, and such an authoritative judgment, that he holds the highest rank among those who have exerted their faculties on it, since the time of the first Moses. His principles have continued to this day to govern the opinions of a great part of his nation, and have excited the admiration of philosophers.

The numberless heights and valleys of Daran, or mount Atlas, became more and more occupied by pastoral tribes. The negro kingdoms beyond the sandy desert, became known by the journeys of caravans; camels traversed the pathless solitude; and wherever springs issued forth from the arid surface, pastoral stations were established. The courts of Africa were not only the granaries of southern Europe, but were also enriched by the export of cattle, cotton manufactures, tapestry, works of glass, and various kinds of honey and resin. These productions were conveyed from the warehouses of Algiers, Tolometta, Biserte, and from the great market of Alexandria. Al-Gazayari, which we call Algiers, was founded in this age. The towns were

surrounded by beautiful gardens and meadows, and necessity had instructed the people in the method of irrigating them. For the rest, the cities of Africa abounded in every pleasure to which the climate incited, and the law of Islam imposed few troublesome restraints.

Ceuta was fortified in the vicinity of the strait; farther in the country, in the midst of villages and populous hamlets, on a river which gave movement to three thousand mills, arose Telemsan, and on the confines of the uninhabitable region, the Vandalic Odegast; but Tunis was most splendidly decorated, from the ruins of old Carthage, with the remains of Roman sculpture, and the works of the Aglabites, and other illustrious sultans and emirs. Flourishing towns were scattered in the ample plains of the Date-country, or Belad-al-jerid, through which sheiks wandered in freedom with their hordes, who revered, in the sultan of Tunis or Maroco, their protector and supreme judge.

Such was northern Africa: its people were as brave as the ancient Carthaginians, and full of the inventive sagacity of Numidia. Every youth was instructed from his cradle in the use of arms: rocks, deserts, and ramparts secured their towns; and the use of gunpowder was known to them long before Europe became acquainted with it. The chiefs lived on the produce of their lands; and public expenditures were provided for by tributes from the herds and other property.

SECTION XXII.

SPAIN.

On the 16th of July, in the 1210th year of our era, the superiority of the Christians over the Arabs or Moors in Spain was finally decided. On that day Alfonso the Eighth, king of Castile, assisted by the princes of his own faith, fought on the field of Las Navas de Tolosa, near Ubida, in the kingdom of Jaen, against the countless hosts of Mulek-en-Nasr Mohammed, the Mowaheddish sultan of Maroco. The Christian monarch obtained a complete victory.

A. D. 1230. The only son of Alfonso died without heirs; and Ferdinand, the son of his daughter, united Castile and Leon. A. D. 1236. Having thus become more powerful than the former kings, he conquered Baeza and Cordova, and after a difficult siege of eighteen months, made himself master of the magnificent Seville. A. D. 1248. Ferdinand fixed his residence in the Kasr, or palace of the Arabian princes, which is yet seen surrounded with labyrinths of myrtle and with finely watered gardens. A. D. 1250. Setting out thence, he gained possession of Cadiz: in vain the mountains of Jaens opposed themselves to his career: the coasts no longer allowed reinforcements to arrive from Africa to the Arabian Spaniards, and Grenada was henceforward their chief possession.

While the power of Castile was established by Ferdinand, who was nephew to the mother of St. Lewis, himself a hero and a saint, the county of Catalonia, with Rousillon in the Pyrenees, was united to the kingdom of Alfonso the Second, of Arragon, by the more peaceful way of inheritance. A. D. 1162. The crowns of Castile and Arragon soon shared between them the finest and strongest provinces, whose inhabitants were valiant warriors by sea and land. A. D. 1178. In the reign of king Iayme the First, Valencia was conquered. A. D. 1238. This achievement was obtained by Rodrigo Diaz, the Cid of Vivar, in Old Castile, the noble champion of liberty and the faith. Already the same king had driven the last of the Zeïrides, of the house which formerly held the sovereignty of Tunis, out of their ancient Pelver in the Balearic islands (A. D. 1229.); and in order that the power of the infidels might be broken by a double warfare, a school for the Arabian language was founded for Franciscan missionaries on the island Foradada.

SECTION XXIII.

PORTUGAL AND CASTILE.

A. D. 1185. On the other side of the Spanish peninsula, Sancho el Poplador, king of Portugal, advanced with

heroic steps in the path marked out for him by his father, the first king. He had to contend with famine, war, and pestilence, yet secured prosperity for his kingdom. Crusaders from England, Friesland, and Holland, assisted him in conquering Sylves, the capital of Algarve. A. D. 1189. Although Abu Yussuf Yakub, and his son Malek-en-Nasr Mohammed, chief of the Mowaheddin, forced Sancho to relinquish this acquisition; yet a part of Algarve remained to him, and its capital yielded to the good fortune of his grandson Alfonso the Third, whose conquests would have been more extensive if he had not been impeded by the jealousy of Castile.

The enthusiasm of the Arabs of Spain had been at first irresistible; but victory at length crowned their more persevering antagonists.

Alfonso the Wise, king of Leon and Castile, whose fame had induced some of the electors of Germany to invite him to the imperial throne (A. D. 1257.), gave his people written laws,* and was celebrated as a learned astronomer. This monarch forced Alfonso-el-Restaurador to swear to support him in his wars with fifty lances, for the privilege of retaining his Algarvian conquests. A. D. 1279—1325. Denis, however, crown-prince of Portugal, whose reign of almost fifty years was long named as the happiest era of that kingdom, prevailed on the Castilian monarch, in his old age, to withdraw this badge of the dependence of his house.

For the rest, the kings were obliged, by their frequent wars, to solicit aids of their subjects, and always stood in need of the arms of the nobles. On these necessities were founded the liberties of the states; and the Spaniards fought with the greater energy, as they contended in the cause of freedom. The royal power was more or less predominant, according to the personal character of the sovereign. The voluptuous Sancho-el-Cupolo was deposed from his throne by the Portuguese (A. D. 1245.), who were supported in this attempt by the spiritual father of Christendom (A. D. 1279.): his wiser nephew, the famous Denis, father of his country, found no limits to his power.

* Las Partidas.

The king sought to render himself the most powerful lord in the kingdom, and thus to become independent of the will of the states; but this design did not escape the notice of the great vassals. When Alfonso the Second enacted a law, that the princes who had received appanages should respect the sovereign power of the first-born, he wanted influence to carry it into effect.

In other kingdoms of the peninsula the nobles, in Portugal the church, made the most formidable opposition to the crown. From the time when the first Alfonso, wishing to secure in his favor the influence of the pope over the crusaders, consigned his kingdom to the apostles Peter and Paul, and sent annually four ounces of gold to Rome as an acknowledgment of feudal dependence, the pope was accustomed to regard Portugal as his own possession. Innocent the Third once attempted to increase the tribute; but the country was neither sufficiently rich, nor Sancho-el-Poplador weak enough, for the success of this project. When Alfonso the Third sought the aid of Innocent the Fourth in deposing his brother, the pope availed himself of this opportunity to establish on record the tributary state of Portugal.* There were, besides, not a few disputes between the kings and the bishops concerning the pretensions urged by the latter to a complete immunity from all contributions to the maintenance of the armies, concerning the number of estates in mortmain, and the resort of the young clergymen to the university of Paris.

In Spain the church favored the regal power; she assisted, indeed, to deprive bold and enterprising kings of their thrones and their lives, but the foundations of kingly authority were maintained. The princes of the Visigoths had distinguished themselves by the titles of "Catholic, right-believing, most Christian kings, and friends of God:" so their successors appeared most willingly as leaders in the holy war for the church and the faith. The throne and the altar gave each other mutual support in other designs, in which their union was not so salutary:—

Quo fonte derivata clades
In patriam, populumque fluxit:

* Maxime cum regnum sit Romanæ ecclesiæ censuale.

for in consequence of this union the national liberty was lost. After the time of Alfonso the Fifth, there is no trace of the right of election formerly exercised by the states of Leon. The church assisted the kings in confounding their own authority, limited by the ancient customs of their nation, with the despotic power of the old Cæsars; and several Spanish kings even assumed the title of Imperatores.

The church labored for centuries in establishing the royal power: in return it availed itself of this power, according to its pleasure; and in Spain its designs have been carried into effect.

Thus the Christian kingdoms obtained the preponderance in the Spanish peninsula. The kings of Castile were the most powerful on account of the situation of their states: Arragon was more opulent, while Portugal was as yet in its infancy. The counts of Champagne, heirs of the royal house of Vigorre, governed Navarre. The vicinity of Arragon, and the scattered situation of its territories, prevented the increase of the latter state.

SECTION XXIV.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

In the time of Frederick the Second, the king of France was, next to the emperor, the most powerful monarch in all Christendom. The state of affairs was greatly changed since, in the reign of Lewis the Seventh, imperial ministers wrote on the part of "their most serene and august lord to his excellence the king of France," as to a subordinate prince. The French kings aimed not at that universal power, by the pursuit of which the emperors had been led into great calamities. They established for themselves a more secure sway, by gradually connecting, under their sceptre, the provinces of their own fruitful country.

Philip Augustus, who had won Normandy, brought into the possession of the crown the territory of Artois, through his marriage with Isabella of Honnegau (A. D. 1180.); and after the house of Vermandois became extinct, con-

quered the ancient county of that name, together with Amiens. A. D. 1185.

The great vassals long maintained that independence, in consequence of which Hugh duke of Burgundy thought himself justified in concluding a treaty with the emperor Henry the Sixth, stipulating, that in the wars between the emperor and the French king, Hugh should always oppose his arms to the aggressor, though it should be his own feudal sovereign. Thus the count of Savoy, who possessed many estates in France, formed a close alliance with England. In the same interest Hugh of Lusignan, count of La Marche, bore arms against Lewis the Ninth.

The latter, however, understood better than any other king the true interests of his throne. He refused the offer of the imperial crown, and sought no acquisition beyond the Pyrenees. He caused Bezeirs and Carcassone to be relinquished to him, subdued count Roger de Foix, Peter Mauclerc duke of Brittany, the count of La Marche and Angoulème, and confirmed the liberties of Toulouse, which restrained the power of the counts. He married the eldest daughter of Raymond count of Provence, and yet suffered that nobleman to make his fourth daughter his heiress, whose husband was Charles the king's brother. By the marriage of Robert of Clermont with Beatrice of Bourbon, whose mother had brought to her consort prince John of Burgundy the domain of Bourbon, that territory, and the name attached to it, devolved on the royal house.

SECTION XXV.

FOUNDATION OF ENGLISH LIBERTY.

These aggrandizements of the French monarchy were facilitated by disturbances in England. The despotic power of the kings ceased in the reign of John, the same prince who lost the possession of Normandy. The barons of England forced him to promulgate the Magna Charta, the fundamental charter of British freedom. A. D. 1214.

The Magna Charta contains the principles of the consti-

tution, the application of which has been regulated by late enactments: the former declares the intention of the law; the latter define the means by which powerful individuals are to be held in obedience to its decrees. The abuses of the feudal law are not abolished in a very definite manner by this charter: it was, however, the first of those ordinances by which they have been finally suppressed. It ordains that the judicial court shall be fixed in one place, and no longer be moved to and fro with the king, in order that it may appear that the law rules without external impulsion. It was now that the important point was settled, that no Englishman can be deprived of his liberty, fortune, country, or life, without a trial according to the common law of the land, before sworn arbiters, selected from his own rank. The laws relating to property were defined in a most accurate manner; no man can be hindered in the disposition of his fortune; and their property is secured to foreign merchants in the case of war having been declared against their nations. Already the weights and measures were the same throughout the British empire. The rights of the ecclesiastics were confirmed, in order that every rank might be interested in maintaining the constitution and the freedom of elections, as every other privilege became a national law. It was reserved, indeed, for the king to refuse his confirmation to an election; but he was obliged to assign his reasons. Provision was made that too many estates should not fall into mortmain, which would have been prejudicial to the interests of the country. But the source of all political freedom, was the law that no impost could be levied by the king without the consent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and great barons of the empire personally assembled, and of the inferior vassals who held immediately of the crown, summoned according to districts by the sheriffs or bailiffs.

These traces of a representative constitution, and of the participation of the states in the public councils, are the first that occur in English history since the time of the old Anglo-Saxon kings: under the weak administration of Henry the Third they multiply, and the British parliament begins to rise out of obscurity and insignificance. In proportion as the

kings alienated the crown lands, in consequence of their necessities or imbecility, and as the lower ranks enriched themselves by industry and commerce, the third state, or the commoners, became more important in the country. They retained the spirit of freedom more constantly than either of the other classes; so that even powerful kings were obliged to court their favor. The name of the third state first appears in the history of Henry the Third's reign. Their rights were more ancient, but had been suppressed by the first Norman kings.

The city of London, fortified by high walls and numerous towers, was situated in a tract of country beautifully diversified by woods, meadows, and gardens. Adjoining to it, on the Thames, was the fortress of the kings. London was already a much frequented commercial town, whither Arabs from Spain imported spiceries and purple from the East and South; the Normans, iron and arms; and the Russians, peltry. The Sundays were devoted to martial exercises among the younger citizens, and holydays were often celebrated by the representation of a sea-fight. Combats of bears, falcons, and cocks were the chief delight of the citizens; and among the laws which restored to them their lost freedom, they were most pleased with that which permitted them to engage in the chase. The laws of foreign nations were the favorite objects of their study.

London joined its arms to those of Simon de Monfort earl of Leicester, and the other barons, in the cause, as it supposed, of liberty, against Henry the Third and the royal house. The brave prince Edward propped up indeed the tottering throne; and Lewis the Ninth, with the help of the pope, mediated a pacification: but it was only the splendid qualities of the succeeding monarch that prevented the monarchy from falling into immediate ruin.

The Kymri, descended from the ancient inhabitants of Britain, still maintained, in the mountains of Wales, their independence and their hereditary hatred against the English.

The latter had not yet obtained that decisive superiority over the Scots, which Edward, availing himself of the disputes concerning the succession to the Scottish throne, shortly afterwards acquired. A. D. 1292.

SECTION XXVI.

THE NETHERLANDS.

On the Continent, the provinces of the Low Countries and the cities of Lower Germany were alone worthy to be compared with England in industry and the love of freedom. The towns in Brabant and Flanders obtained the municipal rights about the middle of the twelfth century, and those in Holland in the beginning of the thirteenth. They were as yet too weak to entertain thoughts of freedom; but the spirit of independence existed in the governors of the country. The counts of Holland, the bishops and barons of Utrecht, acknowledged no proper superior; and between the counts of Flanders and the kings of France, contests were carried on with alternations of success, and with resources not very unequal.

In Friesland there existed such an attachment to freedom, that nations, who at the present day are scarcely named, supported their struggle against great armies with a heroism that reminds us of the valor of the Swiss. With equal activity they fought against the inroads of the sea and the aggressions of spiritual and temporal lords, when they interfered with their privileges. Friesland remained under elective magistrates. It required nothing less than a crusade to subdue the people of Steding; and the greater number of them, after taking beforehand a severe revenge, fell, overcome by superior numbers. A. D. 1234. A longer resistance was made by Ditmarsch; the natural strength of which assisted in maintaining its freedom against the power of Denmark and the counts of Nordalbing. As soon as the defeat of Bornhövede had broken the strength of king Waldemar, the people of Ditmarsch drove out the nobility, declared themselves against all the attempts of their neighbors, and against all innovations in their ancient customs, became powerful by land and sea, and were often appealed to, to settle the disputes of more powerful nations.

SECTION XXVII.

THE POWER OF DENMARK.

All the courts of northern Germany, in the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, dreaded the preponderance of the Danish power. Since the time of Canute, the conqueror of England, no count had governed the united domain of Nordalbing. The inhabitants, divided among petty lords, lived, like the Normans, on piracy; and, at home, their pastures supported numerous herds. The governing power was gradually accumulated in the hands of Adolphus of the house of Schaumburg, whom the duke of Saxony had appointed count of Holstein, and in those of his descendants. At the dismemberment of the sovereignty of Henry the Lion, Adolphus the Third rendered himself independent; and that prince and his posterity carried on many bloody wars against Henry and the kings of Denmark.

Mecklenburg was a fief of the Danish kings, and was even acknowledged as such by the emperor. Pomerania, according to the fortunes and talents of its dukes, was sometimes subject to the Danes; at others, the most powerful principality between the Elbe and the Vistula. It is well known that the Wendish Breslau was indebted to a Danish adventurer, lieutenant of a Polish duke, for its increase and the beginning of its splendor. A. D. 1253. Peter Vlast, for such was the name of this count, founded in that district seventy-seven churches. Thus the Danes, who had supported the idolatry of the Saxons against Charlemain, now communicated civilization and the Christian faith to the Slavonian hordes.

SECTION XXVIII.

CULTIVATION OF SWEDEN.

In Sweden, also, culture was extended notwithstanding the disturbances which shook the state; and workmen from Germany completed the opening of the ancient mines of Dalecarlia. The pope commanded a university* to be founded at Skenning, and schools† to be erected in all the great churches (A. D. 1219.); and the monastery of Wadstena attained the same rank in Sweden which Bangor held among the Britons, and St. Galle among the Germans. The monks of Wadstena had collected more than two thousand manuscripts.

SECTION XXIX.

LIVONIA AND PRUSSIA.

About the same era Christian missionaries prepared Livonia, and Esthonia, by their simple exhortations, for the reception of the gospel: whereupon Albert, bishop of Riga, under the authority of pope Innocent the Third, formed the soldiers of Christ, knights of the sword and cross, into the pastors, conquerors, and lawgivers of this country. A. D. 1201.

This institution seemed to the Polish duke of Masovia, so available for restraining the restless ferocity of his neighbors the Prussians, that, as the Teutonic knights were no longer employed with the wars of Syria, he invited to his court the grand master, Herrmann of Salza, with his whole order. A. D. 1227. In the course of fifty-six years, which elapsed before Burkard of Schwauden became grand-master, the knights had completed the conquest and conversion of Prussia, from Masovia to the borders of Courland and Livonia, and the order formed a coalition with the champions who ruled the latter province.

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* Studium generale. † Trivialia.

SECTION XXX.

POLAND AND SILESIA.

The civilization of the adjoining parts of Germany produced an effect on Poland itself: it gave new power to the dukedom, and enabled the Polish Piast, named Przemysl, to assume the royal dignity. Yet Poland was molested on one side by Russians or Tartars, on the other by other Slavonian tribes (A. D. 1295.); and the power of this kingdom was slowly established, until in later times the junction of Lithuania, and favorable conjunctures, gave it a great increase.

A kindred branch of the house of the Piasts, descendants of Vladislaf, being banished from Poland (A. D. 1158.), had acquired possession of Silesia, and founded principalities, which attained to a far higher degree of splendor and prosperity than their mother country. The house of Vladislaf governed this fortunate province more than five hundred years.

SECTION XXXI.

RUSSIA.

We have mentioned above how the czar became tributary to the leaders of the Golden horde. Of all the Russian cities, Novgorod was the most independent and powerful; industry and opulence following as the natural consequences of freedom. The revolution of Livonia opened to Russia a communication with the north-west of Europe, and Lubeck established commercial alliances with Novgorod and Pleskoff. But, in the interior, these first-fruits of good policy and prosperous circumstances soon declined. Money became so scarce, that cities ransomed themselves from plunder with five rix dollars. Russia possessed no coinage of money before the fifteenth century; and in the seventeenth, mixed metals were first used. The skins of a species of squirrel were used for small currency; and these animals were given in tribute to the chan. Such, at least, is the in-

terpretation assigned by some to a passage in the old chronicles, from which others understand that a certain number of Russian virgins were annually surrendered to the barbarians.

SECTION XXXII.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

A. D. 1261. Constantinople, where the power of the Western conquerors never obtained any secure footing, was retaken in one night by a general of the Nicæan emperor, Michael Palæologus, without the knowledge of his sovereign, without any planned or regular siege, by a secret understanding with Kutrizak, a private citizen. Michael, through perjury, and by depriving the young emperor, John Lascaris, of his eyes, had made for himself a way to the throne, which John Vatazes Lascaris, grandfather of his unfortunate victim, had established. His administration was disturbed; and a pious patriarch refused him absolution from a crime of which he continued to enjoy the fruits. Yet his great talents, notwithstanding numerous schisms, maintained tranquillity abroad, and some appearance of imperial authority.

SECTION XXXIII.

LITERATURE.

This period of the Grecian empire was recorded by the pens of statesmen; but the treasures of ancient literature were now inaccessible to the Greeks, and the Western people made no use of them as long as the libraries, together with the capital, continued in their possession. Yet in George the Acropolite, and in Gregorius Pachymeres, some remaining tincture of eloquence is perceptible, when we compare their works with those of the Western statesmen.

Among the scholars of the West, we discern the growing spirit of freedom, the source of elevated thoughts. The historian Otho, bishop of Freysingen, an Austrian prince,

Günther, Albert of Stade, Conrad of Lichtenau, abbot of Ursperg, and others, deserve to be compared with the Greeks, and in some respects excel them: yet we are willing to avow, that no stranger has painted with such a pencil the barbarism of manners, the crimes and ignorance of the clergy, as the learned and spirited John of Salisbury; that in veracity and liberality no Greek historian can be compared to the British Matthew Paris; and that in spite of a thousand impediments, the wonderful genius of Roger Bacon threw aside the shackles of prejudice, and, at the expense of external prosperity and personal liberty, opened to itself, in the thirteenth century, a new path, into which, in the seventeenth, the name-sake of this philosopher found it difficult to recall the thoughts of mankind. He penetrated so deeply into the secrets of nature, that the germ of the greatest discoveries is to be found in his works; and it may be esteemed an instance of good fortune, that superstition, whose empire he alarmed, did not sacrifice him to her safety. We may remember that he lived but shortly before that Parisian synod, which ordered the metaphysics of Aristotle to be burnt, because it was foretold that Antichrist would avail himself of them at the end of time, in order to bring trouble upon simple-hearted Christians.

The emperor Frederick the Second would have best appreciated the merits of Bacon. He caused Aristotle to be translated from the Arabic; he recommended the study of Hippocrates, the teacher of the true art of healing; he ordered that a public dissection should be performed every five years, and forbade any physician to profess the practice of his art who was unskilled in anatomy. Yet Ebn Sina, or Avicenna, maintained his authority in the schools: his ingenious subtilty pleased better than the dry intellect of the profound Aristotle: false ideas, which were believed to be Aristotelian, but which originated from the translators of that philosopher, perplexed anew the minds of reflecting persons. The progress of the Western Europeans, in science, was the more tardy, as their genius was not developed by its own powers, but depended on foreign culture.

Paris and Bologna were the chief universities. Philosophy struggled here to raise her head: here the Roman law

was interpreted, not learnedly (for history and antiquity were but little known), but with acuteness and ingenuity. Salerno, celebrated for the rules of diet prescribed by John of Milan, was a seat of the sciences under the dukes of the ninth century. Frederick now decreed that no physician, who had not pursued his studies there, should be permitted to take a doctor's degree. At the same time schools were founded at Naples, and in the Austrian Vienna; and Prague, under Przemysl Ottocar, contained the first school of grammar, logic, and physics, for the instruction of the Slavonian tribes.

Toulouse and other French cities profited by a disturbance which broke out in Paris soon after the reign of Philip Augustus, which put the students at that university under the necessity of dispersing. In general the spirit of independence was the occasion of such turmoils. The university-privileges endowed the professors with a certain political authority, which was necessary for maintaining discipline, but excited in their disciples a love of freedom which, in the age of the passions, easily degenerated into licentiousness. A war between Bologna and Forli gave occasion to the establishment of the high school of Padua, where philosophy and theology were soon taught with celebrity.

Some wise admonitions on the method of study are found in the works of the abbot Engelbert of Admont, written during this interval, which in other respects display much talent: "that the soul of labor is regularity; that the best means of doing every thing well, is the principle of never attempting to advance until we have made ourselves masters of the previous steps; and that we must never look upon ourselves as complete scholars, but continue ever to learn."

SECTION XXXIV.

RECAPITULATION.

We have thus surveyed the age of the powerful emperor Frederick the Second, and his struggle against the papacy. We observe the Eastern people remain ever like themselves

we have seen dynasties formed as rapidly as those of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus; and as easily, like the empires of Sardanapalus, Xerxes, and the Ptolemies, become enervated by luxury, fall into confusion and vanish. The south and the west of Asia were overwhelmed by Moguls, as irresistible as in the time of Cyaxares, who were as speedily swept away, the power of their hordes being lost in dispersion. In Europe we have remarked, after the long movements of the stormy north had subsided, and after the transitory dominion with which his personal qualities had invested Charlemain, had passed away, how one nation imposed restraints on the power of another, and how they mutually forced each other to seek from agriculture and commerce what their ancestors had acquired by the sword. Hence not only civilization arose, but even among that class of men who were kept by our ancestors in the bonds of slavery, a consciousness of their powers, and the love of freedom, sprang up. Some even elevated themselves to the study of nature, the investigation of religious doctrine, and the exposition of the rights of men.

In the East, where the feelings of men are warmer, and the imagination takes a nobler flight, all the forms of religion had their origin. These sensible representations assumed in the West a speculative character. In the East, heroes and lawgivers availed themselves of them: with us, they contribute to civilization and social order. In Europe, there was more art and perseverance in plans: in Asia, every thing yielded to an energy which instantly overwhelmed. Hence the more lasting superiority remains with us, and the more polished and enlightened each nation of Europe has become, the greater has been its power.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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